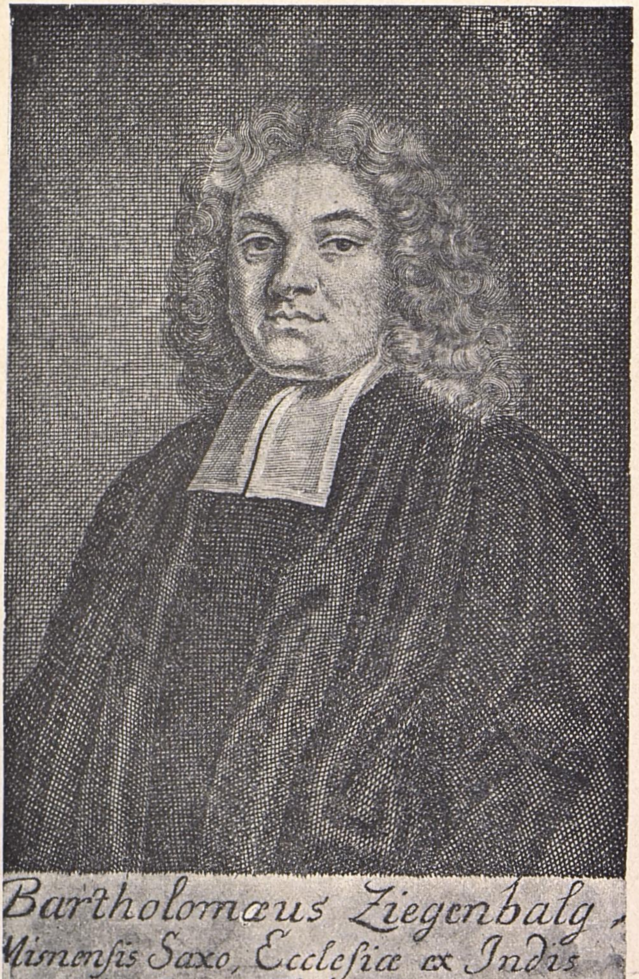

BARTHOLOMAEUS ZIEGENBALG 1682-1719

BARTHOLOMAEUS ZIEGENBALG

A Biography of the First Protestant Missionary in India
1682-1719

BY

ERICH BEYREUTHER

Translated from the German by
S. G. LANG AND H. W. GENSICHEN

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY
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FOREWORD

It is with a sense of great gratitude to God for His manifold gifts and continual presence with the work of Protestant Missions in India during the past twenty-five decades, the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India brings out this biography of Ziegenbalg as a part of the Quarter Millennium Jubilee Celebrations which begin in Tranquebar on January 12, 1956. Dr. Erich Beyreuther's biography is not only the most recent but a most scholarly presentation of the subject with a fund of new material. Special thanks are due to the translators, the Rev. S. G. Lang and Dr. H. W. Gensichen for their untiring efforts to carry out the work of translation.

Despite many difficulties, the publication of this book has been made possible by the co-operation the Christian Literature Society has cheerfully and generously given as its contribution to these eventful celebrations.

It is our earnest prayer that the readers who peruse these pages will be able to get a vision of the spirit of the pioneering missionaries on whose inspired labour and sacrifices the foundations of Protestant Missions in India and other lands have been well and truly laid.

J. KUMARESAN,
Chairman
Board of Publication,
Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India.

PREFACE

Ecumenical broadness characterises the personality of Bartholomeaus Ziegenbalg from the very beginning. He began his great work on the soil of a small Danish colony on the east coast of India and yet his mind was busy with the whole of India. His purpose behind the Tamil mission school was the training of young men who would eventually become preachers carrying the Gospel message to their fellow countrymen. Ziegenbalg knew nothing of denominational narrow-mindedness and the mission he started was to be supported on an international and ecumenical basis.

If today the younger churches are members of the ecumenical movement and if they have made their appearance in an impressive manner at ecumenical conferences, they can look back to Ziegenbalg and see in him a pioneer and herald of the ecumenical spirit which has characterised so much of their history. It is for this reason that the character and work of Ziegenbalg is of abiding historical interest.

ERICH BEYREUTHER.

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CHAPTER ONE

IN THE SHADOW OF FEAR AND MYSTICISM

'*Let thy Christianity be internal, flowing out of the innermost depth of thy heart.*' JOHANN ARNDT.

On June 10, 1682, in one of the houses of Pulsnitz in Germany a tender baby boy saw the light of day. In the beautiful village church he was baptized at once, being given the name of his father, Bartholomaeus. Finally the desired male offspring had appeared.

Four sisters tenderly cared for the lad, for the other boy who was born after our Bartholomaeus was only a fleeting guest on this earth. The father of Bartholomaeus was a wealthy corn merchant, possessing houses, servants and fields.

Evil were the days following the end of the Thirty Years' War, in which the young Bartholomaeus received his first impressions in the narrow and heavy atmosphere of Pulsnitz, a small farming town in south-east Germany economically dependent on the surrounding villages and intent on removing the ruins of the great war. It lay away from the great commercial highways and saw no famous contemporaries travelling through its streets who might have given occasion to interrupt the common daily conversations. The regular succession of seed-time and harvest, of new sowings and new harvests determined the passing of weeks and months.

Neither the corn merchant nor his helpmeet could boast of sound health. Weak and susceptible to disease were all their children growing up under their care. Bartholomaeus was no exception. But what a tremendous life-work would he one day demand of a weak body and a tender soul in hot India!

He was not a wonder-child but he was alert and gifted. His father had the desire and the necessary money to send him to the Latin School. More important was it that the blessing of a pious, early-deceased mother rested upon the lad.

The mother of Bartholomaeus was one of those people who never tire. Maturing early in the school of suffering, she gave evidence of a piety of heart which was nourished by Johann Arndt's *True Christianity*. Her death showed this. As her

children stood weeping about her bed, she said, ' Dear children, I have accumulated a great fortune, a very great fortune '. How keenly the children listened to these words of the mother in the midst of the pain of separation. Even in wealthy families one turned over each silver coin several times before letting it go. Life was costly. The eldest daughter spoke for the others; ' Mother, where is this treasure ? ' The mother replied, ' Search the Scriptures, my dear children, there you find it, for there I have wet every page with my tears '. These words were never forgotten.

The eldest married sister took the little brother into her home. She appeared to have seen in the inexperienced Latin scholar the future man of learning. Early in life Bartholomaeus became independent. He possessed much freedom. However, the picture of his dying mother stood before him affording him blessing and protection.

Only for a short time Bartholomaeus attended the school at Pulsnitz. He held Rektor Weizmann in grateful remembrance and gladly sat at his feet. Ten years later the young theological student Bartholomaeus was to conduct daily prayer meetings for weeks in the town school of Pulsnitz. Another decade later, the famous missionary, who stood before high state officials and moved with church dignitaries and professors, was to greet his old teacher who had the first India letters of his erstwhile student printed in nearby Pirna and who had energetically championed foreign missions in south-east Germany.

Two years after his mother's death, the father also died. This was another heavy blow for the brothers and sisters. We know nothing of his inner attitude. Everything that was told of him later, did not originate from his famous son and must be regarded as legendry.

Within the space of one year the lad Bartholomaeus lived to see the death of his father, the raging fire of the burning town and to stand at the open grave of one of his sisters. That was no doubt more than enough for a tender child's soul. The harassing impression of these experiences worked on his heart. Soon he made the decision to study theology. We again find him at the Latin School in nearby Kamenz. Unruly school-mates surrounded him. The temptation to join with them in the hilarities of effervescent youth's pleasures of life, to carouse in immoderate unruliness, to dance, to frolic and to put all pious seriousness in the background, enticed the orphaned lad. Later he told of this period, that God worked powerfully on his soul and that he ex-

perienced severe pangs of conscience whenever he had done wrong. The lad, in the shadow of fear, must have felt very lonely. Often he was driven to the quiet meadow and solitary mountain tops. There on his knees, he knelt before his God who, already from earliest childhood, was for him the great reality which filled his heart. In the perplexity of his young and impetuous heart he implored God to grant him wisdom.

The twelve-year-old Latin scholar entered the famous high school at Goerlitz in 1694 for eight years of study. Here Bartholomaeus was to prepare himself for later studies at a university. A paternal inheritance provided for him a warm room in winter, board and tuition money. His teachers seem not to have expected much of him, for in the matriculation register of the upper school there was written after his name the laconic judgment; 'Homo et corpore et animo infirmus' (in body and soul an immature person). Seldom will a judgment, given by teachers on a student, have been so completely altered by his later life as the remark of headmaster Grosser.

From May 4, 1694, a quiet student lived in the strange, proud city of Goerlitz with its beautiful churches and the stately houses of its inhabitants. In his twentieth year he would leave this city and go to Berlin. In the city on the Neisse River he was first to experience a thorough fundamental inner change. In severe inner conflicts he fled from the shadow of fear into the shadow of mysticism. His childlike faith, built on authority, altered itself through mysticism into a personal certainty of faith which grew through self-examination and experience.

Not by chance did this change take place in the city of Goerlitz. Within its walls approximately one hundred years before, a respected and expert cobbler pondered in his dark shop over peculiar and extraordinary thoughts. They gripped him to such an extent that he could not keep them to himself. Noble, refined, educated and widely travelled men sat in his workshop around his cobbler's footstool and urged the cobbler-philosopher Jacob Boehme, to put his profound thoughts on paper. On that account he was sorely attacked.

We do not know whether in Ziegenbalg's time there still existed secret circles in the city of Goerlitz which fostered the spirit of Boehme. If so, Ziegenbalg did not get in touch with them. Yet elsewhere there were secret circles among pious people in Silesia, oppressed by the counter reformation and vexed in spirit, who eagerly read the profound writings of the strange cobbler-philosopher.

With this type of piety which at that time spread throughhall Europe, in many different shades, as a powerful religious excitement, the seventeen-year-old high school student Bartholomaeus was to get in touch in a very peculiar way and was to succumb to it. Bartholomaeus, who loved to sing, was together with other comrades for a 'Collegium musicum' which name they pathetically gave to their common musical efforts. Suddenly the door opened and an unknown student entered. That was not something unusual in those days, in which a travel-fever began to grip Europeans and all the world desired to travel. Who wanders through the world more gladly than a young person with his healthy impulse to look around in strange lands, in order to learn, to test and to mature on the highways of life? However, this student was no longer a seeker. He had found and carried something in his heart concerning which he had to bear witness. In the conversation which unfolded itself, a word was spoken which made Ziegenbalg prick up his ears. 'Music is indeed a glorious art; at the same time it can be understood by none except by those who stand in spiritual harmony with God and with themselves.' Those were the student's words.

Upon the urgent plea of young Ziegenbalg, this student became his soul-guide who drilled him in independent prayers which overflowed from the heart, in submerging himself in God's Word and in considering life in nature as an external mirror in which the invisible is reflected. In this way the student wished to open to him the doors of the innermost rooms of the heart so that God might enter. A seventeen-year-old student, with the complete ardour of a young heart and the undeveloped impetuosity of love, suddenly familiarized himself with the world of evangelical mysticism. The tender flowers of mysticism which had already bloomed in the Catholic Middle Ages, bloomed in his heart. He discovered the abyss of the soul and experienced something of the mysteries of the soul's depths. He experienced himself. Deliverance must come from within not from without said the guide of his soul. This mystic piety withdrew from the world. The soul must build for itself the invisible cloister walls.

Bartholomaeus withdrew from his fellow-students. He sought to avoid contact with the evil world. Yet this change in him did not remain hidden. A wave of ridicule met him. The new friend, whose name and origin Ziegenbalg persistently concealed, feared that the young fellow-champion of his cause would not remain firm. He thus took him on a journey. Unfortunately we know nothing further about it. Indeed, the

ridicule increased when Bartholomaeus returned to the circle of his fellow students. Soon the students left him, and Bartholomaeus had to learn to bear enmity and ridicule alone.

Perhaps Bartholomaeus would have gone astray in the maze of mysticism had it not been for one thing; his constant study of the Bible, the precious book of his sainted mother. He left no page unread. As strong and emphatic as Bartholomaeus was emotionally throughout his life, just so composed and clear was his thinking. His intellect was as keen and sound as steel. Emotions and intellect—both had power over him and as a faithful child of his time, he paid a tribute to the frame of mind of the Enlightenment with its basic conviction of the world-wide importance of reason.

Bartholomaeus, who was nearing his 18th birthday, was in the clutches of mysticism-flavoured piety and had to experience the hard change from the sweetness of the soul to the parching drought which followed ecstasy.

Through his own pious efforts he desired to prove to God that his intentions were honest. Had not the student said that God first wishes to see proofs whether we offer Him any opposition? And now, in spite of all strivings he made no headway. But the truth of the biblical concept of man became even clearer to him. An eternal hand upheld this impassioned and impetuous young seeker of God and permitted him, after anxious months, to see the comforting light of the Gospel. He was able to experience the heart established, not through self-effort and striving, but through God's mercy. A miracle occurred. An awakening into the joy of the Gospel. Out of emotional excesses there arose a wholesome moderation. Just as a wave shoots far above its goal in a raging flood but does not roll back to its starting-place, so it was in the innermost development of Ziegenbalg. Through his experience he was invulnerable against a mere moral Christianity. But many things separated him from the ordinary piety. His mystical piety became clear through the writings of Spener and Francke, the theologian and churchman, who at that time were most vehemently attacked, but who were also most highly regarded. The fervour towards God which his soul was not able to dispense with, he enriched through the still and tender spirit of Arndt's *True Christianity*. He knew that a person comes in contact with God in no other way than that the soul is touched in its very depths and is directed to Him by grace. Wherever God is experienced thus, only one desire remains supreme, the will to live unto Him only.

In the midst of his temptation Ziegenbalg doubted whether he could still cling to his chosen vocation. Now the certainty gripped him that his life belonged to the Lord and to His service. A truly direct and genuine urge to bear witness, bold in confessing and joyous in missionary zeal, which was never to diminish, arose in him. Slowly he demolished the wall of isolation which he himself had built. Now, suddenly, he was concerned about the spiritual welfare of his sisters, to whom he wrote friendly letters. Fearlessly he stood up against his comrades when they did wrong. All this was still done clumsily and somewhat tactlessly. How could it be otherwise with a young and fiery heart! At this age one does not yet know moderation. His language studies he considered less important than his exercises in piety and his newly begun theological studies. Finally he himself noticed the weakness. His constant studying at night undermined his already tender health. Bartholomaeus looked around for advice and help and wrote to the famous men, Spener and Francke. The great Francke of Halle, whose founding of orphanages and his school work had already become renowned, referred him to Rektor Joachim Lange of the Friedrich Werder High School in Berlin so that he could complete his preparatory studies before he entered a university. At Easter 1702 Bartholomaeus packed his bag. His teachers let him depart; in their opinion he was immature in body and soul.

The years at Goerlitz definitely moulded Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg spiritually. His whole life he was to be a tireless herald of the blessed mystery of rebirth, of new life in God and for God. The way through mysticism, however, was the preparatory school for his changeable spirit and was one day to make it easier for him to find his way in the rich world of Indian religion. Even before his contact with Indian religions he gained a direct and vivid impression of the power for building up a world of religious fervour out of longing and need. This power had two possibilities for him, either to become a bridge or a ditch. For him, through a higher grace, it became a bridge to the unabridged Gospel, not of sweet self-deliverance or of self-dissolution in the unutterable, but to the good tidings of the One who alone can help. This was truly God's gracious guidance!

CHAPTER TWO

IN THE PROXIMITY OF SPENER AND FRANCKE

'*God's living Spirit wishes to work continually and without ceasing and he who does not let His streams flow cannot excuse himself.*' AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

The students of the energetic and renowned educator Joachim Lange of Berlin, who was headmaster of the Friedrich Werder High School, could boast that they had read the Old Testament in Hebrew more than once from beginning to end and that they were able to translate it. Lange's students translated the Greek New Testament just as easily. Each student spoke Latin, the international language of the educated, fluently. The graduates of the Friedrich Werder High School had to show extraordinary linguistic accomplishments before they could begin the actual study of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages.

Bartholomaeus revealed his plans for his future to headmaster Lange to whom the great Francke in Halle had sent him. By Easter in 1702 he intended to leave Goerlitz. He was ready for study at the university. But when he considered the accomplishments of Lange's students and tested his own knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, he had a longing to sit at the headmaster's feet for one or two years.

Now Bartholomaeus, having letters from Spener and Francke, confidently packed his small suitcase. Nevertheless, the next mail-carriage proceeded to Berlin without him. A letter bringing sad news reached him. He hastened to the funeral of one of his sisters. Psychical shock laid him low. A physical ailment overtook him, the result of long night hours and excessive study, which never left him. Disciplining himself hard, he worked daily according to a fixed schedule to which he adhered strictly. He read many theological books and in addition he had to take care of school engagements. His ailment seems to have been a nervous stomach disorder.

As a result of this ailment Bartholomaeus now sat for weeks at Pulsnitz in a rented room. In his despondency he desired to remain here a year and study at home. Fortunate it was that August Francke commanded the frightened Bartholomaeus to go to Berlin. Bartholomaeus did not dare to cling to his

finely woven plan for a quiet and isolated existence as a house-student. He started out not realizing that his stay in Berlin would offer him personal contacts which one day were to lead him to the turning-point of his life.

Ziegenbalg did not regret his journey to Berlin. Headmaster Joachim Lange, Baron von Canstein and Spener received him kindly. Arrangements had been made for his board and lodging, and what a happy change he found here! In Goerlitz the instructors mistrusted him and had no time for him. His fellow-students treated him with ridicule and scorn. But here in Berlin the teachers were men of a new pattern. They were open with their students. The students could come to the teachers with all kinds of questions and the students fell in with the new spirit. Groups of students formed small societies corresponding to the character of the times. In youthful enthusiasm, filled with pure aspiration, they studied Holy Scripture together and sought to help one another. Bartholomaeus felt himself to be in another world. With the full zeal of his rich spirit he lived and studied among them. Teachers and companions loved him. Spener and Baron von Canstein highly respected this young, fiery and devoted pupil.

But this good fortune of Ziegenbalg lasted only two months. In June Bartholomaeus again sat in his quiet room. What had happened? An unexpected physical breakdown tore him away from his happy studies. His condition was so bad that his friends in Berlin knew no other way out than to let him leave them again.

Later Bartholomaeus gave his judgment regarding his stay in Berlin. He owed much to headmaster Joachim Lange and the ingenious writings of Spener. From Joachim Lange's harsh, manly determination and his vigorous joy of combat, this quiet youth of Pulsnitz, who missed his father in the critical formative years of his life, received impressions both strong and worth taking to heart. Spener, however, through his sincerity and the sternness of his piety in a ripe Christian personality exerted an extraordinarily lasting influence on all who did not oppose him with stubborn prejudices. His writings aided Bartholomaeus to attain an ever-increasing growth in piety and theological deliberation. Spener's careful and prudent, though somewhat timid, manner helped the stormy young heart on the way to a wholesome sobering of his excessively sentimental piety.

Spener's openmindedness toward the needs and questions of the day, his exhortations for reconciliation and for peace, his patience over against the tendencies of fanatical mysticism, all

tended to win the confidence of the young theological student. Here was candor and broadmindedness in the one thing that was essential.

For nine months Bartholomaeus was in Pulsnitz and bore his cross. He had to battle against temptations from within. Again and again a distressing thought rose up within him : Your illness is a sign that the way for completing your studies will be closed. But again Francke, that eminent judge of men, stepped into the breach. In the spring of 1703 he invited the house student of Pulsnitz to come to the university. Thus a heart's desire of Bartholomaeus, which he had timidly proposed to Francke, was fulfilled. Having missed his father from childhood, Bartholomaeus had developed a strong will and a peculiar persistence of purpose. For good or evil he always had to make the plans and resolutions for his future by himself.

Strangely enough, Bartholomaeus now took his time. He did not hasten by the quickest route to Halle. He was on the way many weeks. In Jena, Leipzig and in Wittenberg he sat in the lecture halls of the theological professors, observed thoroughly, weighed things carefully, and offered thanks that he did not have to study at these universities. In those places there still existed the old practice of fencing duels and the distant coolness between professors and students. There they still fostered the old aggressive orthodoxy. This theology was already considered by the educated people of that time to be deficient and out of date and Bartholomaeus, in his thinking and in his behaviour, was already a modern person.

So in May 1703 he arrived in Halle and looked for living quarters. Soon he found a group of pious students who received him gladly. Daily they came together in order to strengthen themselves for the problems of the day with prayer. Twice in the week they expounded Scripture for their mutual edification. All questions which moved a young heart they could frankly express before one another. Frankly and openly they told one another their shortcomings.

There in the suburb town of Glaucha which was situated in front of the walls of the city, a pastor had begun school work with a small sum of money given to him as a gift. The work grew by leaps and bounds. An entire school town grew up. More than a thousand children attended the school, and he became famous. In the beginning he had no regular income for his work of love, but at the right time, August Hermann Francke received sufficient funds from anonymous persons. With a trusting heart he

asked all from God, and more was received from Him through men than he could dare to expect.

In this school work Francke trained his own enthusiastic workers whom he sent everywhere into the world where people welcomed Francke's spirit and faith and requested pastors as well as teachers. But where evangelical congregations were in difficulties, there Francke helped in word and deed. Through noble friends he led Sweden's king, Karl XII, to decide to grant relief to the oppressed Lutherans of Silesia. Carefully he observed the great distress of the Lutherans in Bohemia who were oppressed and tormented by the fanatical Hapsburg Kaisers and through his trusted friends in Silesia he helped immigrants from Bohemia. For Russia Francke had a special interest. His messengers to the German congregations in Moscow and in other cities offered friendship to the Russian Orthodox Church without compromising the Reformation's treasures of faith. Through Russia he hoped to gain an entrance into China and open mission work in that distant land and by way of London his influence extended to America.

The love of the Baroque age for great plans and dreams had its effect. But behind the great and broad horizon which, unique in his time, reached out and included all non-Roman Catholic Christianity and the entire non-Christian world, there stands a great experience. He who felt called upon only to preach repentance and the forgiveness of sins experienced that the simple and clear preaching of the message of sin and grace conquered the hearts of men and was able to stir them to action. People at once became happy witnesses and offered themselves up for the cause of the Church of Jesus Christ on earth.

Among the hundreds of enthusiastic students who listened breathlessly to Francke's words sat Bartholomaeus, tender and frail, but with a burning heart. He would love to be in this kind of work. Daily and hourly pains tortured him and his weak stomach revolted. And then came the day on which in deep despair he wrote to the revered abbot and professor D. Breithaupt. With a heavy heart he wished to renounce the calling of a pastor and learn at home how to cultivate his father's fields. He would gladly have remained in Halle even if he could only be a doorkeeper, but the future responsibility of his calling lay heavy upon him.

The gracious abbot invited the despairing student to come to him and Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg was permitted to hear that neither the professors nor the great Francke would release

him. When Bartholomaeus, in discussion with the professor, sought to cheer himself with the suggestion that perhaps in a distant land there existed for him a task to perform just as there existed for many of the envoys of Halle in the wide world, the revered abbot spoke these auspicious words, 'when one leads one soul of such nations righteous to God, that is equivalent to one winning a hundred souls in Europe since these daily have sufficient means and opportunities for repentance while those are without such means and opportunities'. This much is certain, Breithaupt hardly thought of direct mission work in non-Christian lands. For that there existed in 1703 no prospects. But in South Russia it appeared as though doors to Moslem nations were opening in connection with service rendered to German congregations. A number of Tartars had been brought to Halle, who were to study and one day take up theology. It was an experiment which was denied further development.

In India Bartholomaeus often thought of the memorable words of his pastor. But matters had not gone as far as that yet. Again he was led into the dark valley. 'No matter where I might be, there the dear cross followed me.' With great difficulty Bartholomaeus held out until the close of the semester. Francke saw that his taxing studies had to be discontinued. He sent him to nearby Merseburg to serve as a private tutor. Here and in Erfurt, while he laboured continually in great physical weakness, he experienced something of the penetrating power of the Gospel of sin and grace clearly proclaimed.

But again he had to discontinue his work and seek refuge in quiet Pulsnitz. Now, however, he no longer was the quiet house student in his small room. No troubles of illness could any longer check him. He now knew something of the power of God's Word in the hearts of men if it is proclaimed truly and clearly without fear of men. He had not sat at Francke's feet and worked in Merseburg and Erfurt in vain. The joy in the penetrating power of the Gospel which he himself had experienced and which is able to change indifferent people into happy confessors lifted him above all bodily weakness. Indeed, he daily worked according to a strict plan of theological reading, he studied Holy Scripture tirelessly, and diligently learned Hebrew in which he still felt himself to be deficient. He did not spare himself and his programme of work was now very heavy, but he found time to work for the Lord. Daily in the Pulsnitz school a group gathered from seven to nine o'clock in the evening to hear him expound Scripture and cooperated with him in cate-

chetical instruction both asking and answering questions. None hindered this work. None brought accusation.

Bartholomaeus frequently was guest preacher in church services, but he soon found it impossible to accept all invitations to preach. For weeks at a time he preached for the second pastor at Pulsnitz. There he stood in the pulpit of the church in his home town in which he had been baptized. He must have been a heart-stirring preacher richly gifted with great eloquence and fiery love. Both approval and love were lavished upon him.

God seemed to have removed his illness. The years of inner conflict which he experienced in Goerlitz had made him sober and incorruptible as regards his person. He well knew how to fulfill his thirst for wisdom and how to obey his firm will and do what he had determined to do. Daily he prayed God humbly that He might guard him lest, while he preached to others, he himself should be rejected. In the school of severe suffering this highly gifted student had lost every pious illusion regarding himself and had become modest and merciful.

His life until now had had its strange ups and downs. Again and again things turned out differently from the way he had planned them. And yet God's unseen guidance and rule wove the threads and tied the confusion into a meaningful pattern. His first stay in Berlin helped him on the way to wholesome moderation, from mystic emotional excesses to a clear certainty of faith in the Gospel which does not rest on personal piety but on God's grace. In one short semester at Halle, where the stones themselves speak, he became convinced of the penetrating power of the simple Gospel grace which is able to free men from all sin and indifference and give them a spirit of joyous confession and of self-sacrifice. The broad world-view and the energetic anticipation in the work of Jesus Christ on earth were fruits of August Hermann Francke's inspiring leadership. Bartholomaeus had to thank him for a modern working technique but especially for an indestructible fortitude of faith which trusted that God would do the impossible. That this spring-time of faith, which at that time spread through the Churches, was a special time of grace which should be used to the best of advantage, he as well as many others who called themselves Francke's pupils, well knew.

However, the most thorough and the most difficult school remained the school of suffering. 'Through suffering the Master impresses His most lasting likeness.' The life, which Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg had lived until now, was to bear first fruits in India.

CHAPTER THREE

INTO A LAND WHICH I WILL SHOW THEE

'*How wonderfully and wisely God has led me until now, who at this time bids me, as He did Abraham, to leave my fatherland and my friends and go into a land which He will show unto me.*' Written by Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg in a farewell letter from Berlin to August Hermann Francke, dated Oct. 7, 1705.

Frederick IV of Denmark is counted among the most able rulers who have ruled over Denmark and Norway. The bad deficiency of a neglected upbringing for which his jovial father must bear the blame, he tried to make good during the years of his reign, through strict diligence. Often one could see the king in his palace pouring over official reports until deep into the night. He was not satisfied merely to accept what his advisers put before him, but sought to arrive at a clear picture in his own mind of many events. Almost vehemently he sought to render an independent judgment. This frame of mind led him to distrust almost everyone.

For new ideas and tasks he had a remarkably keen mind and, in spite of being very thrifty, gave very liberally for enterprises of Christian brotherly love when he was convinced that the leaders were efficient people. Once convinced, the king, in his eagerness to give aid, cut through all the tedious 'red tape' of Government and turned a deaf ear to malicious insinuations.

As complete head of the Lutheran Church of Denmark and Norway, he appointed pastors as well as bishops and often examined the candidates with painful exactness. He had no liking for theological disputations. He sought to retain peace, good order and discipline in his Lutheran Church. Was he truly pious? Later on he estranged his son when he deeply saddened the queen because of his preference for another woman. But as far as the mission work which he began was concerned, he conducted himself as a Christian gentleman in all difficult situations, much more so than his State Church and the Danish East India Company which, without him, would have allowed the Mission to die. But how did he come to choose German missionaries? In his royal court and in the leading circles of Copen-

hagen German was the favourite language. That was the heritage which he willingly took over from his father who selected his courtiers, his officers for the land army and his highest state officials from the Germans. So it does not surprise us that King Frederick IV sought a second German court preacher in 1704, the fifth year of his reign, although he did not especially favour Germans. His choice was Prefect Franz Julius Luetkens of Berlin. This 54-year-old theologian held a leading church office and was acquainted with Philipp Jakob Spener. Luetkens agreed. However, like his predecessor in office, he did not wish to arrive in Copenhagen without his doctor's title which he wished to earn at the University of Rostock. But the king would brook no delay and therefore presented him with the royal edict that in future he should call and sign himself Doctor of Divinity. Thus the new court preacher, even before he had seen him, knew his king to be a person who wished to put his decisions into practice speedily.

Luetkens, in the first years of his ministry at Copenhagen and before the queen was banished, was the right man for the king. Hardly had he come into his office and honour when, with great enthusiasm, he accepted the favourite plan of his royal master. With his other court preachers and father-confessors, Frederick IV had had little success, for when they learned of their master's wish, they looked askance. As Christian sovereign he wanted to accomplish what he had planned as crown prince. It did not please him that the Gospel had not yet been proclaimed to his non-Christian subjects in the overseas colonies. In the hundred years in which Danish colonial ministers had served Danes in foreign lands with spiritual care, not one of them had concerned himself with the non-Christians. He now wished to send ministers especially for the non-Christians. He did not have in mind conversion by the compulsion of governmental constraint. This work was to develop with all spontaneity. These missionary ideas were without a doubt new in his day.

In Berlin a few years before, that great genius, the philosopher Leibniz, definitely favoured beginning missionary work in China. Luetkens thus knew of these missionary plans from his contacts in Berlin. How Frederick IV got to know of these plans we cannot now determine but in any case, he formulated his missionary plan and clung to it firmly in spite of all opposition which arose against it in his own land.

Luetkens quickly presented the king's wish to Dr. Bornemann, the bishop of Seeland, who was living in Copenhagen and who

had a place of honour among the Lutheran bishops of Denmark. But this greatly irritated the Church dignitary who emphatically rejected the plan with cynical expressions. He would have nothing to do with the matter, and so the king allowed his German court preacher to have a free hand. He was to look to Germany from which country already countless excellent men had come to Denmark, since the homeland was rejecting the new task. Little did Luetkens think that a work of such magnitude would suddenly fall into his lap and give him his life's greatest joy!

In the summer of 1705 a small circle of pastors met in Berlin. From this small group Luetkens wished to choose the young theologians who would, as royal Danish missionaries preach the Gospel among the dark-skinned inhabitants of the West Indies, both to the free and to the slaves. The king was ready to put them on an equal footing with the ministers of his Danish colonies. Their period of service was to be from five to seven years. The outgoing voyage was to be counted as the first year of service. The last year was to be served as ship's chaplain on the return voyage. After service in overseas territory the Danish prince promised to give them a high position in a parish in the capital city or in one of the German-speaking sections of his land. The annual salary for a single missionary was to be a generous 200 Dollars.

The king and his court preacher knew the Germans. They allowed themselves to be sent to the ends of the earth provided the task which they were to fulfil was great enough and full of promise. Nevertheless Luetken's request no doubt would have placed the Berlin pastors in a painful dilemma if two erstwhile students of Friedrich Werder High School had not by chance been in the vicinity. The energetic Rektor Joachim Lange was requested to write to Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg who was at the time both studying and serving as a substitute pastor. Bartholomaeus was genuinely frightened by the request. He declined. His theological studies at the university had hardly begun, the state of his health was precarious, his youth was against it. It was not without good reason that the pastors of Berlin interpreted Bartholomaeus' reluctance as modesty and not as a definite refusal. His name and that of Heinrich Pluetschau of Mecklenburg were sent to Copenhagen.

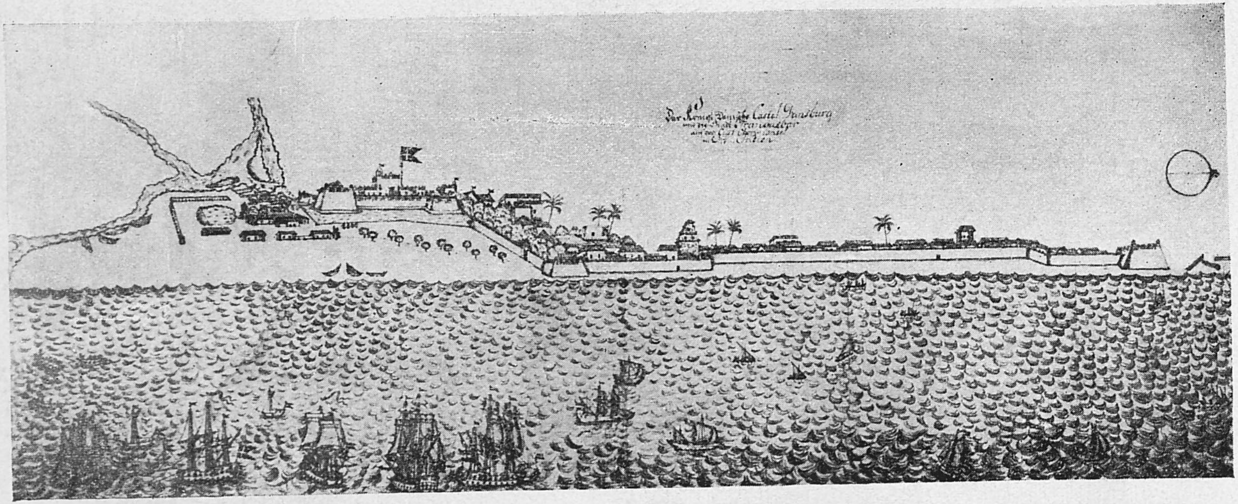
Luetkens' letter of confirmation was not long delayed. Together therewith was enclosed an order for a generous sum of money for travel to Copenhagen. The young missionaries were to start forthwith. On October 1st a solemn meeting was held

in which both theological students were again asked whether they were willing to accept the call. Now Luetkens announced that their field of labour was to be the African coast of Guinea with its murderous climate. Both young men looked at each other and let themselves be induced to consent. But did Bartholomaeus merely give in ? Did he not begin to realise why God until now had not permitted him to complete his studies ? Again and again his plans came to nought. Had not God thus very clearly wished to draw him away from the normal life of a pastor in the service of a German country parish ? Doubtless he saw with clear insight the great task of his life even if it led him into a deadly climate.

Dr. Luetkens said they were capable. Thereupon the bishop, who had previously failed them, received an injunction through a court official to re-examine both missionaries without delay. Dr. Luetkens, according to the King's wish, was present at the examination. At once both missionaries passed the examination to the satisfaction of the lord bishop, who three times exclaimed : 'My, how those men have changed !' This praise veiled the retreat of the high lord, for only three days earlier the first examination had taken place. Upon the King's order, which was exceedingly clear, Dr. Bornemann had to undertake the ordination of both missionaries.

After these preparations the King wished to make the acquaintance of these two men who were so much under dispute. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg was requested to preach a sermon to the royal family in the castle on the mission text, Acts 26 : 17-18. No report has come down to us of what impression the twenty-four-year-old Ziegenbalg made on the King. Yet from that time forward the whole royal family was friendly to this young pastor and missionary, and showed him personal goodwill in many ways until his death. The King himself stood firmly for Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, whose shining gifts and personal integrity he no doubt at once correctly judged. Heinrich Pluetschau did not preach to the royal family. The reason is unknown to us. He was less gifted than Ziegenbalg and from the beginning seems to have stepped into the background.

But the greatest surprise, the importance of which hardly anyone at that time correctly understood, not even the King, was the destination of their voyage which now for the third time was suddenly changed. The reasons behind this change we do not know. The official documents, of course, do not relate everything. The call led to India to a highly gifted, cultured



AN OLD IMPRESSION OF THE DANSBORG AT TRANQUEBAR

J. E. GRUENDLER 1677-1720

people, into the land of religions! These men were not to serve poor negroes and slaves of low culture and primitive religion. Their sphere of labour was to be in the wonderland of India toward which publicity in Europe was at that time increasingly directing attention, while Africa was to remain for over a hundred years more, the dark continent about which few people concerned themselves.

The fact that, in a time when nobility took the lead, a King called into being an evangelical mission work and sent missionaries to fabled India, was to arouse general attention in evangelical lands. In order that love for missions and the sense of responsibility in evangelical Christendom for the non-Christian world might be awakened and become a fact, hardly any other more suitable mission field could have been found than the land whose mysterious enchantment now began to captivate the west so strongly. And that such a sincere and highly gifted person as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg should enter India as the first missionary and apostle of the evangelical world mission was due to the wonderful guidance of God.

However, things had not progressed that far. On November 29, 1705, both missionaries boarded the ship *Prinzessa Sophia Hedwiga.* Well meaning friends gave them all kinds of gifts useful for their voyage. Good wishes and blessings went with them. This was just as well, for the captain's face was stormy when he saw the two royally appointed passengers and the countenance of the ship's chaplain did not exactly show a kindly welcome. They regarded these two missionaries as queer customers.

On November 30th the ship sailed out into the open sea. On the voyage the two men experienced much beauty. With open eyes and hearts eager to absorb, they observed everything and wrote of these things vividly in their letters to the homeland. Often they sat on deck, at night silently observing the tropical splendour of the starry sky as they sailed along Africa's coast and in daytime marvelling at the measureless ocean which was resplendent in all its colours. Everything moved them to worship God, whose creation declared His Almighty power and His wisdom, and whom they were daily permitted to approach as His children. He had called them to go to a distant land and to unknown people as His messengers.

Besides these friendly pictures there were others of a different kind. Bartholomaeus called the seven months' voyage an academy of death. Hardly had they sailed out into the sea when

on the first day a boatman fell from the high mast to the deck and lay there smashed to death. Shortly before reaching the northern tip of Scotland they buried a young lad in the watery grave of the sea. Ships which appeared on the horizon frightened the crew. Were they French pirate ships or Arabian sea-robbers? To be on the safe side the cannons were kept ready for action. Because of contrary winds, while sailing around Africa, they were driven to the coast of Brazil and far south of Cape Town so that they felt the direct route to India was shorter than that via Cape Town. Yet they did not dare risk sailing a direct course since the condition of the winds on this course was unknown to them. Therefore, they returned to Cape Town. Everyone longed for fresh food and drink. They were all tired of the mouldy bread, the sour beer and the unpleasant drinking water.

After a refreshing stay in Cape Town among many Germans, after visiting the Hottentot tribes whose customs and religious practices greatly interested both missionaries, and after physical strengthening, they sailed from Cape Town on May 8, 1706. The course was set for Madagascar. Here the ocean was more majestic and rough than in the Atlantic. The storms they now met had greater force. The waves rose high and they were capped continuously with white foam. The ship sailed into the stormy section of the world's oceans. There were days when storms, accompanied by incessant thunder, hail and lightning, never seemed to cease. Mastbeams broke. The ship listed badly to one side and barely stayed afloat. Everything in the ship was thrown about. Finally they passed Madagascar and soon thereafter Mauritius and the voyage became quieter.

Both men had been given one cabin. In this work and sleeping room they studied many hours, held discussions with each other and talked with God. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg began to write an edifying article on 'The General School of True Wisdom' which he dedicated to Princess Sophia Hedwiga, the sister of the King, after whom the ship had been named. He had her to thank for the publication of his little booklet in 1710 in Leipzig through her generous gift. Once again they experienced the fear of death. Near Ceylon the captain and the mates climbed on to the mastbeams. By means of the plumb-lead they had detected shallow water and as the ship continued to speed forward, they feared they would run on to a reef and yet the winds compelled them to remain in shallow water driving them so close to Ceylon that they could see the elephants on the shore.

Often the passengers had to be prepared for their last hour. Truly in this ' academy of death ', as Ziegenbalg called the voyage in his manuscript, all the wisdom of God, which they had learned, was experienced in a practical testing of their faith. The constant nearness of death deeply influenced their hearts. Whatever might be waiting for them in India, they had learned the inner power of God's Word and not merely to understand and perceive the words. All fear left them. Even in the most adverse situations they knew they were in God's hands.

All his experiences are reflected in Ziegenbalg's first account. The book was to have been twice as large, but sooner than experience led them to expect, the ship *Sophia Hedwiga* lay in front of Tranquebar, the Danish trading town on the east coast of India. On the 9th of July he wrote ; ' Hitherto hath the Lord helped us '. The great joy of this occasion still stirs us today as we read Ziegenbalg's travel account now yellow with age.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNDISMAYED AND WITHOUT FEAR

'*We are now only spies and are to prepare the way a bit for those who follow after us who will then enjoy a much larger harvest.*' From a letter of Ziegenbalg addressed to his friend v.d. Linde dated September 5, 1706, from Tranquebar.

The harbour at Tranquebar which the south Indian King of Tanjore had ceded to the privileged Danish East India Company, together with the town and a few bordering villages, was of little use. The ships had to lie at anchor far out from the town. The landing of passengers and the unloading of freight had to be done in boats which had to reach the shore through dangerous breakers.

For three days the missionaries could find no boats to take them to land since the ship's captain wished to vent his anger on them. He was very angry with them because they, with the approval of their fellow-passengers, had protected a young woman, who had boarded the ship at Cape Town and whom the captain was molesting. But after both missionaries had got to shore through the efforts of another captain who was of German descent, their own captain opposed them to such an extent that then and there they might have become discouraged. In those three days he had not been idle but had warned the town against them. Therefore the officials kept both missionaries in the guard house from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon and prevented them from entering the town. The explanatory papers addressed to the Danish Governor of Tranquebar were taken from them without comment. Finally the Governor together with his council and the two Danish preachers, who were not at all friendly, condescended to come in person. Roughly he asked both missionaries what business they had there anyway. However, as the unapproachable lord saw the King's seal he was confused but remarked disparagingly that they could perhaps give them some work in the Danish school which at that time was without a teacher, so that they would not have to idle away their time. The two missionaries, who had been received so discourteously, were not silent but stated the purpose of their coming. The whole commission considered that statement a sufficient reason to turn their backs upon them, go to the town and

to disperse quickly without paying any attention to the missionaries. Undaunted, the new arrivals followed them and for hours together they stood forlorn and forsaken in the marketplace. No one paid any attention to them. Finally at dusk a German speaking Dane named Attrup took pity on them and arranged lodging for the night with his father-in-law Hans Paulsen. Soon thereafter Mr. Paulsen put them up in one of his houses near the town wall in the middle of the so-called Portuguese section.

Everything seemed to go against Ziegenbalg and his companion. By silent consent, these two men who lived in the poorest and most disreputable section of the town among Indian slaves and people of mixed descent, were shunned by the Europeans. People looked upon them as spies sent by the Danish King whose business it was to look into their private lives even as they had done to the captain, in whose highly personal matter they had interferred. It is, of course, a fact that the best representatives of European nations are not always found in the colonies. In the enervating, character-demoralizing climate of the land, in the depressing sensuality which it breathed forth, such people only too willingly gave themselves over to unrestrained licentiousness. Even the more worthy elements seldom withstood these degrading influences. The Governor, however, feared that unpleasant complications with heathenism would result if the missionaries began mission work and mixed with the non-Christians. It might disturb the commercial enterprise and lead to political complications, for people had not come to this tropical land finally to lose health and life but quickly to earn a fortune and to satisfy the insatiable directors of the trading company in Copenhagen by securing high profits.

Governor Hassius knew that he would hardly be held at fault by the Copenhagen directors of the trading company because of his unfriendliness toward the newly arrived missionaries. He had not received any orders from them, and after he received such he would surely rub his hands together with glee. Unfortunately when the missionaries were commissioned in Copenhagen the people concerned neglected to get in touch with the covetous directors of the trading company who jealously guarded the political authority which they possessed in the colonies, and to inform them officially of the King's mission plan. These omissions, which were the result of haste and an entire lack of planning, were to be a source of many difficulties.

The Danish senior pastor was offended because the missionaries were not subordinate to him. Even the mission instructions which had been given to the two missionaries were uncertain and tentative. Nevertheless the missionaries had to thank Dr. Luetkens that they were directly under the King and not under an intermediary board. Dr. Luetkens had perhaps surmised that such a work could expand only in understanding friendship and not in burdensome dependence on the Danish colonial congregation.

Forsaken by men but not neglected by God! Already in the boat which brought the two missionaries to land on July 9, 1706 a young Indian offered himself as their servant. He followed them into the house by the town wall. But Mudaliappa spoke only Tamil and a little halting Portuguese. Among the Europeans in the town none had ever tried to learn the difficult Tamil. Therefore, at the suggestion of their landlord Paulsen, both missionaries began first of all to learn Portuguese which had become a language of communication between the Europeans and the Indians for almost 200 years since the Portuguese had landed in India and had undertaken trade relations.

But who would protect Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau from the Governor who was so hostile to the mission but who cleverly hid his intentions and secret plans? God helps in ingenious ways. In the town many German soldiers were in military service. Half of the European population consisted of fellow-countrymen. Unsought, a connection arose between the missionaries, who at first lived in isolation, and their German brethren. In times of financial embarrassment German soldiers quietly brought their hard-earned wages to the mission house and helped in times of trouble. It is difficult to estimate how much, humanly speaking, these German brethren, among whom many a prodigal son found the way home, helped to overcome the first hindrances of the mission. Soon Ziegenbalg, who thought and worked on a grand scale, seeing the great lack of Bibles, hymnals and devotional books among the white people of the colony, with the help of friends from Europe, established a European library. Surprisingly soon word of this arrangement travelled to all coastal towns of East Asia. English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and even Spanish devotional books and Bibles were in demand. Ziegenbalg found ways and means and soon packages of books left Tranquebar intended for many places.

The missionaries lived in the midst of slaves and people of mixed descent. An insignificant number of them had been

baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. Most of them were children of servants of European men and these, according to a convenient custom, were given to the Roman Catholic priest for baptism but even that was sometimes neglected and he was not particularly concerned about their Christian training. These Indian Catholics were cared for by a Jesuit father who, in this time of the evident decline of the Catholic Mission which for 150 years had been working in India, was a true reflection of its downfall. He was an expert in business dealings, was an intimate friend of the Governor, and neglected his congregation but kept it together through hard discipline. He exercised a low type of jurisdiction over his congregation members and knew how to use it through frequent use of physical punishment meted out in an inconsiderable and arbitrary manner.

Again a new enmity arose by force of events. The missionaries could not ignore these miserable slaves and people of mixed descent, who spoke a very corrupt Portuguese. According to Lutheran teaching, did not the slaves of the white people belong to the family circle for whom the head of the family should care body and soul? After some wavering the Governor, as president of the local court upon request of the missionaries actually enacted a decree which was to be read from the pulpit of Zion Church. Henceforth all new-born children of slaves were to be brought for Lutheran baptism. Also the heads of families were to make their servants available for two hours daily so that the missionaries could instruct them in the fundamentals of Christianity. How well this fitted in with the plans of this wily Governor. The Danish pastors would want to baptize these children but they would neither be able nor willing to undertake the instruction. The white slave-owners would murmur against the missionaries and would sabotage the decree. The Jesuit father, hard hit by this hindering of a convenient growth of his congregation, would become an enemy of the missionaries and as a trustworthy and highly inventive intriguer would cause them much trouble and thus give the Governor sufficient cause to interfere. And yet Hassius could not prevent a Portuguese speaking congregation from being established. Did it not sound convenient to have candidates for baptism simply brought in this way? Slaves who were fully under the jurisdiction of their masters could not secretly go to the missionaries. Under existing conditions only this way was possible. The first candidates for baptism were therefore Indian slaves and the slaves who became Christians were, throughout the entire mission

work, a constant source of disagreeable friction with their masters against whom they inwardly revolted. Others, due to their position as slaves, never came out of a terrified vacillation. With endless love and patience the missionaries befriended these slaves who were often poor in spirit and character and helped them in every way. Ziegenbalg sought to improve their corrupt and neglected Portuguese and in that way to better their position. The first mission school for children of slaves was built. Portuguese literature was produced. Ziegenbalg wrote a booklet on the basic truths of Christianity. The Portuguese New Testament was published. Other Portuguese devotional booklets and an evangelical Portuguese hymnal were produced. Among the missionaries who came later, men in unbroken chain concentrated their entire life's work on these helpless people and became ministers and shepherds of this Portuguese congregation, faithfully bearing the burden of their pastoral oversight and spiritual welfare.

Ziegenbalg's longing and desire however, drove him to the free-born Indians who were not, like the slaves, living in constant fear and insecurity. Moreover, they proudly and freely displayed their non-Christian faith. Every morning one could see them in front of their huts painting the sign of their God on their foreheads with holy ash. The twenty-year-old Mudaliappa, their Tamil servant, belonged to these free Tamilians and boasted of belonging to an ancient, aristocratic, but poverty-stricken Indian family of princes. After he had been with the missionaries daily for a week he declared that he wished to stay with them always and that he wished to accompany them to Europe when they returned. So great was his trust in these genuine men who brilliantly stood out from the immoral Europeans of the colony by their inward and outward behaviour. The missionaries answered that if Mudaliappa was ready to become a Christian and learn the German language, then this plan would be considered in all earnest.

Ziegenbalg looked into the future. How quickly three years would pass. Would not an Indian Christian, who in a European university could translate the Holy Bible and devotional books into the difficult and incomprehensible Tamil, be able to speak to his people better than foreign missionaries from an entirely different world?

Ziegenbalg's plans went much farther. He did not forget that for August Hermann Francke in Halle the children and students were the most valuable guides and co-workers. From

the time that Ziegenbalg put his foot on Indian soil, his zealous love and energies were directed toward Indian youth. He already dreamed how, out of Tamil youth trained in the Christian way, Christian teachers, catechists and preachers would go forth as assistants to the missionaries and would walk in the streets of India sowing the seed of the Gospel far and wide. As pioneer he had to make the beginning. He 'adopted' poor orphaned children by restoring to their erstwhile supporters part of the money they had expended on them, according to the customary rate of compensation. In an interesting letter dated October 1, 1706, the first anniversary of the day of solemn commissioning, he informed his friends that he thought of 'adopting' many more children provided the people in the homeland would contribute liberally. That was the beginning of a small orphanage in Tranquebar similar to the one in Halle. These children also learned to speak German. The future missionaries, from the day of their arrival, were to be able to work among them and to instruct them, without being hindered by the language barrier.

This did not mean that Tamil had not to be learned. The missionaries invited a seventy-year-old Hindu teacher into their house with his little school. In the midst of Tamil pupils, who gazed upon them with astonishment, they soon were sitting in the sand and writing the artistic, complicated and beautifully formed Tamil letters, but did not understand the meaning of the words since the aged teacher was not able to translate them into Portuguese. But at the right time help was available. They learned from an Indian translator Aleppo, by name who besides his Tamil mother-tongue, understood Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and even German. He came to them.

But which one of the two would learn Tamil? In order that the expended effort should prove worth while, the missionary would have to remain in India a few years longer. The contract was for three years. Ziegenbalg, who had barely left his bed after a serious illness which brought him close to death, did not dare to agree to undertake this work. Also Pluetschau was undecided. They humbly prayed to God that He would show them His will by lot but the lot fell upon Pluetschau who possessed lesser gifts for language. However, as the first Portuguese-speaking Indian candidates for baptism appeared, and with them unexpectedly a close fellowship came into being in surroundings void of understanding, Ziegenbalg forgot all proper divisions of work. Ziegenbalg also learned Tamil and with great diligence mastered this difficult language in the re-

markably short time of eight months. With the help of Aleppo he selected 5,000 Tamil words and tirelessly learned to use them. An old book of a Roman Catholic missionary, which came into his possession, helped him to find the rules of Tamil grammar. Once he had learned the rules of Tamil syntax he made rapid progress. Faithful Pluetschau was not able to keep up this quick tempo, this nerve-taxing work in the excessive heat, and thus limited himself more and more to the work among the Portuguese-speaking Indians and to the congregation which was made up of them, without entirely losing his longing to work among the Tamilians. Ziegenbalg, however, daily read the best Tamil authors and through endless repetition memorized the best sounding sentence constructions.

The Gospel, that noble gift, was one day to be couched in sweet sounding Tamil which is like music to the Indians. In less than a year Ziegenbalg spoke Tamil so masterfully that the Indians listened to him breathlessly. He only needed to appear in the street or in a field, when at once hundreds of Tamilians gathered around him and impulsively showed him their respect and love because he spoke their language. It became a sensation in Tamil Nad and spread to neighbouring villages that here in Tranquebar a white man had appeared who did not trade and cheat and did not lead a loose life but daily proved his piety. A saint lived among the immoral Europeans, a miracle before their eyes !

Ziegenbalg soon engaged in earnest religious talks with pious Indians. Again and again the richness of their religious thoughts, hidden behind the confused idol-worship and outward practices, surprised him. From these discussions he returned home in a mood of reflection and meditation. Increasingly he marvelled at this people's high spiritual culture.

If he really wanted to come near to this people, then he had to understand them and love them in all their life's manifestations, in their most noble spiritual possessions, in their sacred scriptures, in their philosophical thoughts, in their sciences which they pursued, in their history which they had recorded. Tirelessly he sought to get in touch with the best representatives of this people personally and through correspondence, even beyond the narrow confines of the Danish Trading Company. Further correspondence took place on all religious questions. Most carefully he familiarized himself with the innermost life of this people.

From far seekers after God came in order to have discussion

with him. Almost daily countless people camped at his door seeking nothing else than religious conversation and then the young missionary sent his helpers through the whole land in order to come into possession of all the works of the rich Tamil literature which were available in longhand. He directed them to go to widows of Hindu priests who would perhaps be the first to surrender precious manuscripts at small cost. Ziegenbalg wished to meet the soul of India, this mysterious land of religions.

This goal could be reached only through a rigid programme of work. From six to seven in the morning Ziegenbalg could be found among the first 'adopted' Indian children explaining to them Luther's Catechism. This booklet was his first translation into Tamil which was to be followed by many other books. His work of translation was crowned by a careful and idiomatic rendering of the New Testament and of portions of the Old Testament. From seven to eight he reviewed, as a schoolboy does, Tamil words and idiomatic expressions which he had recently written down and memorized. From eight to noon Tamil works were read, obscure passages of which an ever-present Tamil poet explained and a Tamil writer wrote down on palm leaves the new words which came to their notice. During the noon recess, from twelve to one in the afternoon, during which the missionaries partook of a simple lunch, the Bible was read. From one to two in the afternoon, the time of unbearable heat, Ziegenbalg allowed himself some rest. From two to three he gave the Tamil children another Catechism period of instruction in the bungalow. From three to five he again read Tamil books. He first read all the books of one author and then went on to read those of a different author.

The devotion hour from five to six was continued. Afterwards the missionaries discussed the events and experiences of the day for half an hour. From six-thirty until eight a Tamil writer read from books written in especially high-style Tamil. It did not weary Ziegenbalg to have them re-read sometimes a hundred times lest even one word or manner of expression escape which he did not learn to use. From eight to nine at night he ate his dinner while he had portions of the Bible read to him so that he could spare his eyes in the poor light. Then the orphans were assembled before retiring for a brief conversation and after he had pondered over both his own actions and whatever befell him that day, he ended the day with song and prayer.

This was his daily schedule for many weeks, which seldom could be followed exactly but was the plan according to which he sought to work. An eccentric passion for work, which in his century let books grow into thick volumes and which loved and marvelled at great learning, may have helped to form this way of life. But at the back of it there stood the deep desire of a man who sought to give himself wholly to his God in the task that had become his.

Undaunted, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, this bodily weak but in mind and understanding excellently healthy man, mastered a stiff and crowded schedule of work. But what permitted him to gain the affection of the Indians was his firm faith and steadfastness, in spite of the ill-will which flared up around him and his companion among those who called themselves European Christians. He grew to be a witness of his Lord who was tortured, who suffered and yet worked without bitterness. His enemies caused him every thinkable difficulty but he had great hopes for his work. He did not permit the long view of the goal of all mission work to be dimmed by the exhausting daily small tasks. Humbly every morning, as a suffering witness in the footsteps of his Lord, he prayed for calmness and the joy of faith, received them and thus was able to move the hearts of the non-Christians.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPRISONMENT IN INDIA

'*God knows that I have loved the man from my heart but he sought to keep us from the seriousness and the zeal of our office through all kinds of reasonings. Since we refused to be frightened thereby he resolutely set himself against us and our work and that so vehemently that he even dared to call it a devil's work. For all that, let it be far from me to seek his misfortune.*' Ziegenbalg in a letter of August 19, 1709, regarding the Danish Governor Hassius.

On an autumn morning in 1707 the Danish ships from Copenhagen arrived in the harbour of Tranquebar. All Europeans were happy and excited. It was the one opportunity in the year to receive mail from their beloved Europe and to send letters to the homeland. Only the Governor was in an uncomfortable frame of mind. He sat in his office and brooded. He had to admit to himself that he had made life really difficult for the two missionaries. How detailed would be their letters of complaint addressed to the Danish King which would now be included in the mail intended for Copenhagen? Very plainly both missionaries had made him understand that they were directly responsible to the King and were bound under oath to submit a true report regarding all the things that furthered or hindered their work.

All the disagreeable events came to his mind. His first defeat he had already suffered on November 6 of the previous year. For then the missionaries had instituted a regular course of instruction for a number of Portuguese speaking Indians and on January 22nd they were able to accept a number of Tamil speaking Indians for a daily two-hour period of instruction for Baptism. And then on the 12th of May the five Portuguese speaking Indians, in a baptismal service in the Danish Zion Church, confessed their Christian faith so clearly and firmly and knew how to bear witness thereto so joyously that a general stir ran through the crowded house of God. The principle people of the town actually served as sponsors.

The missionaries had after all gained a firm footing which should have been prevented at all cost. But the most disagree-

able thing was yet to come. Hardly had this small group of first Indian catechumens been baptized than the missionaries wanted to build their own church, and naturally the Governor ought to grant a suitable piece of land for the church. Even the building funds he was asked to advance from Company money. Nothing came of that ! And yet in the unpleasant quarrel over the church building he could not refuse them a building site. The senior Danish pastor had turned against him and had supported the building plans of the missionaries. What could he reply to the assertion that the nationals did not feel at home in the European church and that they were greatly reluctant to sit on the church benches of the white people ? Finally they told him frankly that the Catholics, Hindus and Mohammedans were permitted to build churches and temples without any question and now were only the evangelical Christians to be refused permission to build a church ?

The plan to build did not fail even due to lack of building funds. The missionaries offered half their salaries. When the foundation stone was laid, the workers in the town became silent. One of the leaders among them even gave the missionaries fifty dollars, to say nothing of other donors. On the 14th of August the church dedication had already been held, truly a black day for him. The whole town, of course, knew how much he had opposed the plan. Everybody was out that day. Thousands of Indians and many of the Danes and specially the Germans crowded around the stone church.

Hassius rested his head in his hands. The missionaries had worked with a definite plan and goal in mind and they had simply out-played him. Even the non-Christians did not complain. Among them there seemed to reign only joy over the success of the missionaries. The missionaries now possessed a house of God and were no longer dependent on the good will of the Danish Zion congregation. He also remembered that angry scene in his own house when he had struck Ziegenbalg on the chest with his fist. That came about through a German sermon in which Pluetschau had plainly referred to his opposition and his nerves had given away. Of course that was set right again, when he rebuked the two Danish pastors who showed their malice a week after the dedication of the new church. What did the colonial pastors say ? The two missionaries now had their own church and were not to use the Danish church any more. They had been sent out to the Indians and not to the Europeans. By this they referred to the German services in Zion Church and this

was why the senior pastor had so energetically supported the building project of the mission church. However, nothing came of this move and both men had to withdraw without seeing their purpose fulfilled.

Suddenly Hassius jumped up greatly relieved. He had a plan. A friendly gesture must be put to use. Thus he soon entered the missionaries' house by the town wall and explained his proposal to the astonished missionaries. He told them that he had thought things over. Why should they cause each other difficulties? He now saw clearly that the missionaries could not give up their work. If the missionaries were agreed, he would henceforth be helpful to them and speak well of their mission work in his company reports to the directors in Copenhagen.

Ziegenbalg at once understood what the Governor was aiming at. Not one single letter had come for the missionaries in the ships from Europe. Even Dr. Luetkens had not written and yet both missionaries had written countless letters which were in the hands of many friends long before the ships, which now lay at anchor, had sailed for India. Did no one in Europe, in Copenhagen and especially among their friends in Berlin have any desire to support the new work with mission contributions which they had requested so fervently? They were not in a position to carry on all the work with their own salaries. They had reported the need for 4,000 dollars.

Would it not be wise, since they were still so very uncertain, to withhold the letters of complaint? The people in the homeland must be encouraged to make sacrifices for this work and to pray for it. Did not the Governor come as a messenger sent by God? Thus both missionaries gladly agreed to the proposal of the Governor who wanted to make peace. The letters of complaints were torn up, and under the impression of this unexpected armistice new reports were prepared which spoke of the initial successes only. Only good things were reported to the people in the homeland.

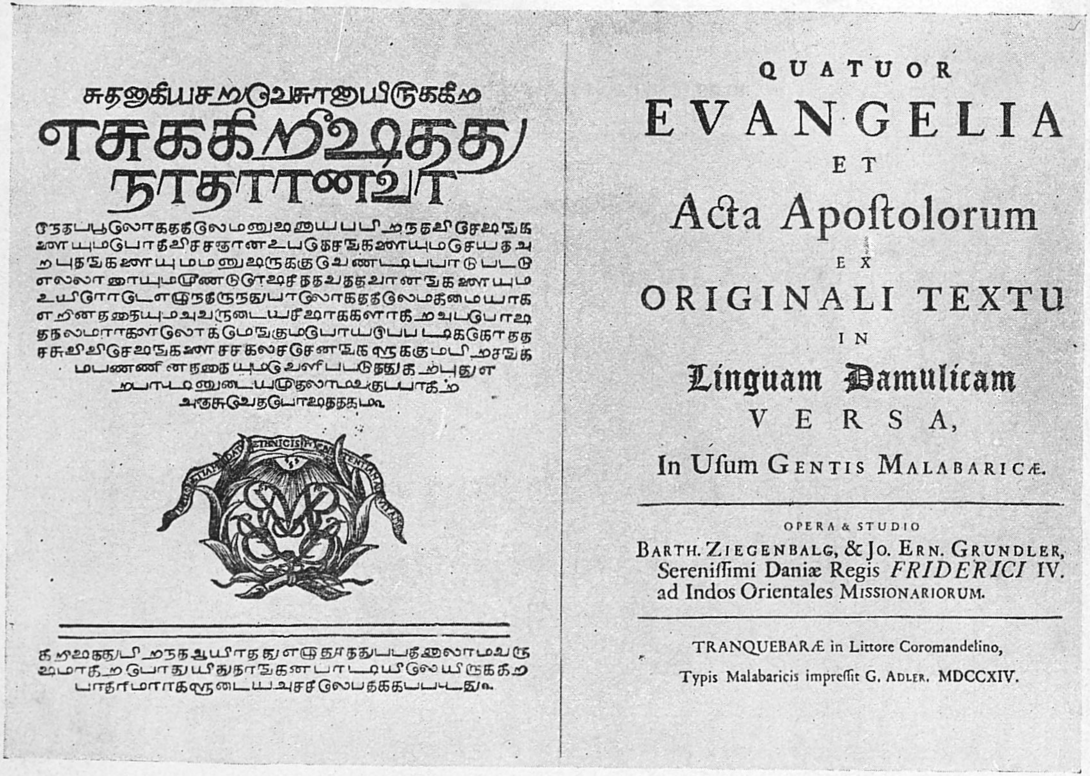
But in his home Hassius rubbed his hands together with joy. The easily duped missionaries had fallen into his trap and he prepared his reports for the directors of the Danish Indian Trading Company in Copenhagen. He knew how to strike his enemies where they were most vulnerable and the complaint was made that the Indian trade was suffering loss because of the missionaries. The non-Christians, being embittered because they were not left in peace with their own beliefs, could

become restive. They were greatly angered through the building of the mission church. The missionaries, however, who could not be taught anything, were not willing to understand these things. They disregarded all the orders of the Governor because they took refuge in the privileges granted them by the King. If this situation continued, the secret council of Tranquebar would no longer be able to direct matters for the welfare of the trading company. The missionaries with all their new plans which were endangering religious peace could be met only with clear cut orders. The Governor should be given instructions that the missionaries were to obtain the approval of the company directors in Copenhagen through the Governor before they could begin any new work. Through clever delaying tactics the secret council of Tranquebar would know how to wear out the energetic and tenacious missionaries.

The longer Hassius pondered over his report, the happier he became. The avaricious directors in Copenhagen would readily accept the proposal which he suggested to them. After the ships had sailed for Denmark, the Governor again revealed his true attitude. Even though the missionaries could now sit down and prepare new letters of complaint they would have no opportunity to send them until autumn 1708 and it would take two years at least for them to receive a reply and help. In two full years much could be done especially, if he acted cleverly and appeared to act with right on his side. Off and on he could adopt a condescending attitude to the missionaries in order to deceive them.

Opportunity for this actually presented itself on November 20, 1707, when the missionaries inaugurated a German Bible study hour from six to seven in the evening in which they gave a running commentary on the New Testament. Hassius ignored the grievances of the Danish pastors. In the church building disputes they had danced out of line, and they had to realize who was master in Tranquebar. But the Governor did not realize that in this way he helped to cement the German families into one closely knit community which in the coming disputes would, through prayer and contributions, be wholeheartedly on the side of the missionaries. Also the family of that young woman, whom Ziegenbalg had so gallantly protected on the ship, belonged to the grateful and faithful friends of the mission house.

Without number were the small spiteful difficulties which Hassius continually thought of and through which he sought



QUATUOR
EVANGELIA
ET
Acta Apoſtolorum
EX
ORIGINALI TEXTU
IN
Linguam Damulicam
VERSA,
In Uſum Gentis Malabaricæ.

OPERA & STUDIO
Barth. Ziegenbalg, & Jo. Ern. Grundler,
Sereniſſimi Daniæ Regis *FRIDERICI* IV.
ad Indos Orientales Missionariorum.

TRANQUEBARÆ in Littore Coromandelino,
Typis Malabaricis impreſſit G. Adler. MDCCXIV.

THE TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION IN TAMIL OF THE FOUR GOSPELS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES TRANSLATED AND PUBLISHED BY ZIEGENBALG AND GRUENDLER AT TRANQUEBAR IN 1714

KING'S STREET, TRANQUEBAR

to plague the missionaries. In the meantime a year passed. On August 1, 1708, early in the morning, a Danish ship lay at anchor. The missionaries breathed a sigh of relief. In trembling hands they held a letter from Dr. Luetkens. What news did it contain ? They hardly trusted their eyes. Nothing but good news ! The King and his family had expressed their good wishes toward the mission work. Two thousand dollars had been collected for the missionaries. Now schools could be built and the poor among the newly gained Christians and among the catechumens could receive regular help. The worst trouble now was ended ! Joy, boundless joy filled the two lonely men.

After the morning service both men hurried to the Governor who did not seem surprised. On the contrary he pushed a letter toward them. It was an order from Count Rebenklau for the payment of money which was stored in a special money chest. Hassius assured the missionaries that the order had already been given to bring the Comapny's money and the mission money to land. That day the money would be handed over to them.

Early in the afternoon terrible news reached the missionaries who were waiting with joyful hearts. A boat had capsized in the breakers and five Europeans and two Indians had thereby lost their lives. The mission money lay at the bottom of the sea ! Immediately there arose rumours of devilish plans. In the morning when the sea was calm the company money had been brought to land safely but the mission money chest was kept back. Only in the afternoon the foolish drunken captain of the ship had the money chest brought in a boat. Twice the boatman had requested that, as usual, he be allowed to put a band around the money chest in order to protect it. The captain shouted at him angrily and denied his request. As the boat safely glided through the roughest breakers and Indians took hold of the boat to pull it on to land, the drunken captain suddenly sprang among them like a mad man with a drawn dagger so that they hastily let go the boat and retreated. The boat capsized and the breakers swept all its contents away. The Governor consoled the two frightened missionaries. There was sufficient money in the Company's treasury eventually to make good the loss. The waves would drive the goods on to the shore, the water at the place of the accident was not so deep that the heavy money chest could not be found again. Actually that same day most of the goods were fished out of the water,

especially those packages intended for the Governor, but the money chest was said to be lost.

Search was made for it but only on the next day and in the wrong place. Permission to look for the money again and at the correct spot was refused. Ugly scenes followed. The request of the missionaries, which was made in a quiet but firm manner, that the unusual happenings be carefully looked into, the Governor answered with angry abusive language. He repeatedly struck Ziegenbalg with his fists. Hassius and his followers no longer tried to hide their malicious joy over the missionaries' loss.

The whole town, non-Christians as well as Christians, Europeans as well as Indians, knew that it was intended that the money chest should be lost. Why was the search for the money chest delayed for two days and then undertaken in the wrong place? However, it never came to light whether the money chest was covered by quicksand or whether the boatmen took possession of it secretly.

The missionaries, who in this matter considered themselves responsible to give an account to European Christendom, carried on an official correspondence with the Governor who no longer was capable of any sane and quiet discussion. The Governor and the secret council brought the correspondence to a close with the scornful assertion that they would be glad to reduce the official duties of the overworked missionaries and to relieve them of the German services and Bible classes. Besides, a person had the right to institute a lawsuit in the Danish lower court of Tranquebar. He ended the statement with the announcement that more severe measures would be taken against the missionaries.

Should the missionaries, in view of the antagonism of the Governor and his staff of co-workers who would play the role of judges in the lower court, institute a lawsuit? Did not their office of the ministry forbid that? Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau took counsel together. A glance into the Bible, opened at random, decided the issue. Their eyes fell upon the verses in the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. For in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.'

Both missionaries had received their answer. Both knelt down

and asked God for wisdom and gentleness and prayed that He would direct the hearts of their enemies to a sincere desire for peace. The letter of conciliation which they immediately wrote actually opened the way to the Governor for them. Hassius assured them that he was sick almost unto death, so upset was he by all that had happened. The missionaries dropped the plan of instituting a lawsuit because of the lost money, but they stated plainly that they would report the entire incident to the people in the homeland which was the proper thing to do. They did not know that only half of the 2,000 dollars had come with this ship nor that the King would, upon receiving their report of the loss, in such a noble and refined way at once make good the lost 1,000 dollars. Hassius was satisfied and assured them that he also would forget about the dispute.

But with Hassius this declaration of peace was merely a temporary state of mind. The destruction of the mission and the missionaries was with him and his colleagues an action practically decided. The missionaries requested, as a visible sign of the reconciliation, that the Governor, his wife and the aldermen of the Company be sponsors at the baptism of an adult Indian. Of those who were invited no one appeared. On the contrary the invitation became a cause for systematically intimidating the Indian Christians who had been gained. The congregation was no longer to grow in numbers. Fifty new catechumens whose names were quickly ascertained, were in a few days time so greatly harassed that they withdrew from catechumen instruction out of fear. Attempts were also made to cripple the missionaries financially. A small sum of money which a quartermaster, who was returning to Europe, had designated for the oppressed missionaries out of pity for them, was not paid to them. No one dared to prevent the servant Ole Thoren from making the voyage to Copenhagen although it was known that he would personally take the letters of the missionaries with him and would deliver them in Europe and that thus they could not disappear during the voyage. The fear that one of the missionaries would return to Europe and would personally relate details of their persecution to the King forced them to allow this.

After they believed they had sufficiently frightened the non-Christians away from the missionaries, they attempted to isolate the two men from the European population. All white people were strictly forbidden to take part in the services and Bible classes of the missionaries in the mission house and in the mission

church. The Hindu priests, who until then had kept quiet and had been friendly to the missionaries, were now aroused and incited to oppose them. Also the Roman Catholic priest only too gladly permitted himself to be moved to acts of hate.

Even the Danish ministers energetically took part in persecuting the two apostles of the King. It was a spiteful drama that was acted before the eyes of the Indians. Many ordinary folk among the Indians came to the missionaries and sought to comfort them.

Finally the whole town was excited to fever heat. Only a final inexplicable fear of the royal commission of the missionaries and of the attitude of the thoughtful non-Christians as well as Christians prevented Hassius and his accomplices from using open force.

In those dangerous weeks Ziegenbalg reported the following to his Berlin friends : 'Since the loss of our money the Governor and his secret council have set themselves against us and our congregation as real tyrants with threats to destroy everything here that we have built up and to root out our congregation ; thus often through such difficult procedures, in which we were not sure of our lives, we were very much depressed in spirit. However, God did not forsake us but encouraged us again through the comfort of the Holy Spirit and made us still more joyful to confess the truth without fear, not caring that we might have to seal the testimony thereof with our blood.'

Through this boldness of faith and the firm determination of Ziegenbalg and his companion, who stood unflinchingly at his side, the whole town was stirred. In the same letter Ziegenbalg could report the following observation to Berlin and not without foundation : ' Certain it is, if they use force against us, there would arise a rebellion among non-Christians as well as Christians since everyone is aware of our innocence and all the non-Christions are extremely angry that we are treated so shamefully while we seek nothing other than the glory of God and the welfare not only of the non-Christians but also of the Christians. Altough the leaders persecute us greatly, on the other hand, the common folk love us and refuse to be ruled against their conscience, that they should remain away from our services and prayer meetings because of angry threats. At the same time the non-Christians show us much love and they have often consoled us because of the loss of our money, saying that because it was charity money it was impossible that it should remain lost, though much time might elapse.'

When Governor Hassius summoned the missionaries to his presence, which happened often, he took all precautionary military measures, alerted various soldier guards by beating of drums, had the fortress stores locked up and the hanging bridges drawn in. First of all Pluetschau was oppressed. As pastor of the Europeanised Tamilians and of the Eurasians he of necessity continually came into conflict with the malicious priest of the Roman Catholic mission and also with the two Danish ministers.

As friend and curator of souls of the Christian slaves he revived a teaching of the Old Testament that Christian slaves should no longer be sold but were to be given their freedom when they were separated from their master's staff of servants. Sternly showing the Danish senior pastor the great injustice of selling his Christian slave to a woman just before his departure, Pluetschau forced him to set the slave free. Pluetschau was determined to pay the sale price himself in case of necessity.

This incident was a signal for the others, especially for the Governor and the Europeans, to vex him by purposely selling their Lutheran slaves into other parts where without any spiritual care, in non-Christian surroundings, they would become demoralized.

The Roman Catholic priest, called by people who favoured him and who threatened the mother, secretly and quickly baptized the child of a soldier, while the father of the child, all unaware of this, invited the sponsors to a Lutheran baptism. Pluetschau protested against this interference but Hassius used the occasion to oppose Pluetschau. He had the drums beaten in the entire town. The whole military garrison of the Tranquebar town hurried into the fort. A sergeant was sent to fetch Pluetschau at once. The court proceeding was a pure theatrical act. The unhappy father was punished unjustly and made to run the gauntlet and Pluetschau was treated harshly. When according to their judgment, they had sufficiently intimidated him, he was allowed to go. The whole town shook its head over these incidents.

Hassius considered it necessary to deal with Ziegenbalg differently in order to break his will to resist. This time an evil-minded debtor was the cause of a conflict and the welcome cause for proceeding against Ziegenbalg. A Roman Catholic interpreter, evidently incited by the priest, refused to acknowledge a debt which he owed to an oppressed widow of Zion congregation and which her deceased husband had loaned him. Without

reservation Hassius supported his dishonest interpreter who refused to take the oath of a witness. The Governor's only purpose was to make the Lutheran Tamil congregation feel that it had no rights and that it was subject to his whims and fancies.

Hassius figured that Ziegenbalg would not keep silent but would come to him and plead on behalf of the widow. Since it was impossible to discuss matters properly with the Governor, correspondence took place on this matter. Ziegenbalg knew that something else was behind the Governor's action. The matter pertained to the existence or non-existence of the mission work itself. He warned Hassius not to go too far and reminded him of the displeasure of the King.

Hassius had waited for just such a letter. Triumphantly he held it in his hands. What Ziegenbalg had written was hidden opposition to the power of government which in Tranquebar rested in his hands, so he told the assembled council. Ziegenbalg was summoned to the fort early on the morning of November 19, 1708. A company of soldiers with loaded rifles marched to the mission house in order to fetch him. For some three days both missionaries knew that the arrest had been decided upon.

Ziegenbalg did not want to make things too easy for Hassius. He had not taken off his dressing gown. As the lieutenant stormed into his office he knelt down in prayer. People gathered in front of the house. Ziegenbalg's prayer wafted through the open windows to the outside. As wildfire this incident of arrest spread through the town. Both white and Indian people assembled in the streets. Hassius in the fort waited with feverish impatience. Things went too slowly for him. He sent one messenger after another to the mission house and demanded speedy action. The lieutenant finally lost his temper and with curses he forced Ziegenbalg to discontinue his prayer and to go with him.

In the courtroom the missionary bowed before his judges in silence. Hassius, his reddened face distorted, was accuser and judge in one person. No court records were in evidence. Since Ziegenbalg at a glance convinced himself that all suppositions for an orderly court procedure were lacking, he, remembering his Lord Christ before the Sanhedrin, was silent when questioned. The situation became increasingly more painful for his judge. Hassius finally made an end of the comedy which had turned out so badly by giving the order for

arrest and imprisonment because of hostility which was strengthened and proved by stubborn silence.

In the unbearable humidity of tropical Tranquebar Ziegenbalg was imprisoned in a miserable ' sweat-hole ' next to the kitchen of the fort in order completely to exhaust him through the heat of the kitchen and the sun. Even Captain Larsen who was in command of the fort's company of soldiers was incensed over this decision.

Pluetschau had to supply Ziegenbalg with food which was first carefully searched for concealed letters. But Ziegenbalg was completely isolated. Pluetschau was forbidden to go near the cell even in his capacity as father confessor. Even pen and paper were denied the prisoner, and he could not continue the work of Bible translation which he had undertaken. No one among the soldiers could speak one word with him. Through silence the missionary's spirit was to be broken and the unmerciful solitude in the terrible heat of his cell was to rob him of the power of resistance and was to ruin his health. If the prison doors would ever be opened to him he would leave as a human wreck.

Pluetschau also was not left in peace. In the German sermon which he preached in the Danish church on the following Wednesday he poured out his heart, and though the Governor was present in the service, he did not hesitate to speak of tyrants such as Jezebel, Antiochus and Herod and of those who died a martyr's death because of their faith. Because of this sermon his downfall was decided. The two Danish preachers hastened to the Governor with the plea to ban the German sermons and Bible classes and thus shamelessly worked hand in hand with him. On the following Sunday an edict was read from the pulpit of Zion church which forbade the attendance of all Europeans at German services and Bible classes and also contained sharp threats.

Pluetschau did not waver nor yield. With the help of his non-Christian translator Aleppo, their old language teacher, he prepared his Tamil sermons and catechesed until efforts were made forcefully to separate Aleppo from the missionary. Through an angry statement of Aleppo, pressure was put upon him and he was imprisoned. Because of his declared hunger-strike, the authorities feared an uprising among the Indian people and he was released from prison and sent out of the Danish colony without having his ears and nose mutilated. And now only the gifted catechist of the Portuguese congregation, the

blind and aged Johann de Almedo, had to be enticed away through promises and threats, in order to deprive Pluetschau of his last fellow-worker. In that too the enemies succeeded.

The final step also was taken. Payment of his salary was refused and the money reverted into the Company's treasury. In order that he might be without any money and unable to buy even bread all Europeans were strictly forbidden to give him even the smallest sum of money. The mission treasury was empty. Were the widows and orphans and the school children to be thrust out of the Tamil and Portuguese congregations and left homeless and penniless ? That He who does not forget the sparrow in the tree has ways and means to help and to advise, the brave Pluetschau experienced in an overwhelming manner.

One European after another of those who were friendly and frightened because of the deep enmity of the Governor and his accomplices found ways and means of providing the missionary with money. The person who made a beginning in this completely surprised Pluetschau. He would have expected this from anyone else rather than from him. So now enemies became his friends. One person loaned 40 dollars until the arrival of the next ships. Another brought 20 dollars. Again and again benefactors appeared on the scene whenever the mission treasury was practically empty. Gradually 200 Danish dollars were received by the faithful missionary entirely unsolicited.

The imprisoned Ziegenbalg was as undismayed as the lonesome Pluetschau. With song and prayer he had consecrated his prison. Often the soldiers who stood on guard in front of his cell could see him standing by the grated window and looking silently into space. They heard him pray and sing. The ordinary soldiers who were not permitted to speak with him answered him by intoning hymns, by praying aloud and reading to him out of books. Against such a manifestation of love even a Hassius was powerless.

Still more happened. One night two German soldiers, Johann Georg Mann and his friend Christian Ludwig who acted as sextons in the German services, succeeded in reaching the window of the cell and handed the prisoner paper and a pen. After that each day Ziegenbalg spent time preparing two pamphlets concerning 'The God-pleasing State of a Christian' and 'The God-pleasing Profession of Teaching'. In these pamphlets the vexations of Ziegenbalg's imprisonment, the

strong consolation of his trust in God, the joy of resignation and his unbroken will to fight the opposition are reflected. For the sake of the future of the mission in India, Ziegenbalg was called upon openly to unmask and reveal the antagonism of the colonial government against the mission and this he did for the benefit of all missionaries who were to come after him.

After the battle had been fought through, his friends in the homeland could not correctly understand his intransigent attitude. Their respect for government, even for one that could barely be called a Christian government, was so honest and strong that they could not make a just and clear judgment. But all missionaries who were to succeed him learned from Ziegenbalg to be unafraid and firm against colonial government in India. The sincere regard which years later an English colonial government in India showed for the Danish-Halle missionaries was due in part to the strong and lasting influence of Ziegenbalg's firmness not to allow himself to be fettered and hindered in his mission work.

But things had not gone that far yet. Hassius, however, the longer he prolonged the imprisonment of Ziegenbalg, had to admit to himself that his action was the height of folly. The people were angry with him. His fellow council members could be kept under control only with great effort and it was completely uncertain what attitude the Danish King would take toward all this. In all the coastal cities of India which were occupied by European nations the atrocity of his actions was being noised abroad and the consensus of opinion was largely against Hassius. The admiration and love of the people were definitely in favour of the imprisoned missionary.

Hassius sought a way out. He turned to Pluetschau and asked him to use his good offices and urge Ziegenbalg to give a statement of repentance. But Ziegenabalg was firm in the matter and would not take the blame upon himself, since it did not concern his own person so much as the work of the threatened mission.

Finally, for the sake of the congregation, Ziegenbalg was prepared to make a written request for release from imprisonment and a declaration that he would be ready at any time to stand for trial. Before making that decision a seven-hour discussion had taken place in his cell with the Governor. To all appearances a lighter form of imprisonment had been granted in the last few weeks, for Ziegenbalg was able to invite the Governor and his wife to a meal during which this memorable

and long discussion took place and after which both men embraced each other and kissed one another upon taking leave as was the sentimental custom of the times. Moreover, Hassius had lived in Dresden for a long time and had studied in Wittenberg before he went to India via Norway. Thus there existed human bridges to understanding.

On March 26, 1709, the four months imprisonment ended. The Governor with his advisory council and the missionaries acknowledged each other's liberty to report the whole affair in Copenhagen. The report of the Governor which can still be read is a masterpiece of misrepresentation and slander. But Ziegenbalg was free. The opponents no longer dared attack him openly although underhand vexations and hindrances continued five years longer. Hassius feverishly looked for material against the missionaries in order to justify himself personally in Copenhagen upon his return. The Governor no longer dared molest individual Christians, but he still possessed the throttling method through administrative procedures. Thus also the next years were filled with efforts to ward off his attacks and hindrances until Ziegenbalg on his famous European journey broke the last secret opposition of the gain-greedy directors of the East India Company in Copenhagen.

Great was the joy of the Indian congregation which greeted their freed pastor with tears of joy. All whom he had instructed and baptized came together again. Only seven members of the old congregation left Tranquebar in the time of persecution. Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg became a different person after his imprisonment, for the trouble which he suffered in those months had left upon him the imprint of an inner dignity and authority which exerted its influence everywhere without words.

'We looked upon all the work and acts which we had done until now as a preparation for the future entrance to the non-Christians, which glorious entrance we do not expect to see with our own eyes but which we now behold from a distance with the eyes of faith and rejoice thereof, and are at the same time more ready to prepare a way for the entrance of our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of glory, to the non-Christians.'

CHAPTER SIX

EUROPEAN ECHO

'*O how lovable is this simplicity ! Wordly wisdom despises it. Foolish wisdom, thou wilt succumb. For if God is in the work and we do not hinder His action, the matter will have good success.*' From the religious works of Fenelon.

Early in the autumn of 1707, because the Danish ships were anchored in the Tranquebar harbour, the very gullible missionaries, so Hassius thought, tore up their warranted letters of complaint which with one stroke would have freed them from their tormentor. Actually they fell into his trap. The letters which the missionaries wrote afresh contained only joyous reports and merely hinted at the disappointments and difficulties in a vague way. Ziegenbalg did not realise that this was the way to make their insignificant, threatened work famous in Europe so that assistance would be given the extent of which they had not expected.

In late summer 1708 the letters were in Copenhagen, Berlin, Halle and in Lusatia. The letters to the Danish King have not been found. However, we know of their contents from other letters which were directed to Berlin at the same time. Rektor Joachim Lange had them printed there. These nine printed letters to the friends in Berlin are small masterpieces. The first seven letters, describing the voyage to India, are interesting and gripping with increasing suspense, at the same time making limited use of pious expressions, being neither long-winded nor in great detail. They are not silent regarding the hindrances that confronted the beginning of the work through the offensive life of the European Christians. The persecution which the candidate for baptism suffered in his own family circle and which made him economically helpless was taken very seriously. Ziegenbalg did not hide the fact that the sensual nature of Indian idolatry seemed to be more pleasing and attractive to the Indian than the conscience-bound solemnity of the Christian religion. The reader of the mission letters is held in suspense through the ever-increasing number of difficulties described in them. The language problems are illustrated through samples of Tamil script, carefully reproduced by the

type-cutters in Berlin. And yet over this dark land there shone the star of hope. A strong movement had taken place among Christians and non-Christians. Already in the boat which brought the missionaries to land a young Indian offered himself as servant. Samples of conversations with a searcher after God who asked the deepest questions are given. An Indian woman carries Indian sweets into the missionaries' house. She knows no other way of expressing her gratefulness to the messengers of God who understood the unsatisfied religious longing of the non-Christians.

Plans for the future are intimated. In a Tamil school Indian boys are to be trained to become missionaries to their own people. Ziegenbalg takes joy in Indian youth and expects great things from it. And was it so unthinkable that other evangelical princes would imitate the Danish King and also send men to India to strengthen the work of the mission? Millions of non-Christians were waiting for the announcement.

These first seven letters, which gave no report of any successes and were written a few months after Ziegenbalg's arrival in India, giving his first impressions, were first printed in 1708 in Berlin. They were called: 'Remarkable Reports from East India', and were received with an interest that was truly astonishing. They had to be reprinted three times within a very short time. All at once all Europe was speaking of this unheard of new beginning and even the Roman Catholic Church took careful notice.

Soon after, two more letters of Ziegenbalg, written in 1707, were printed in Berlin and Frankfurt in a number of editions. They were titled: 'A Continuation of Remarkable Reports from East India'. In these last two letters (the tenth Joachim Lange did not have printed) a more exultant note is struck. The first rays of the sun are falling on the dark land. To the surprised Christians in Europe a report of the first fruits is given. After one year's mission work, already 37 Indians have been baptized, fifty others are being instructed as catechumens. A small church has been built. Every week German services are held. Both missionaries intend to remain in India their whole lifetime. The prospect of a great harvest moves them to make a request for more missionaries. Hundreds of Indians surround Ziegenbalg when he leaves the town. They want to hear him; they love him, for he speaks their language. A baptized Indian had given the missionaries a golden idol which was sent to the Danish King. For the gifted south Indian people a mission high school was to be opened in Tranquebar in which they were to be

instructed in European sciences, in philosophical disciplines and especially in mathematics which they valued highly and whereby they would at the same time be led into the world of the Christian faith. They required books from Europe for this and, above all, gifted men.

This abundance of plans, this foresightedness which gripped and bewitched the people of that age and into which Ziegenbalg fitted the modest initial successes in Tranquebar aroused interest and love.

Joy reigned in the King's court in Copenhagen. The individual members of the royal family themselves wrote letters to the missionaries. The brother and sister of the King, the noble Prince Karl and the Princess Hedwiga Sophia who refused to become a German empress in order not to have to become untrue to her Lutheran faith, donated, together with what the King added, 1,700 Danish dollars for the extension of the mission station at Tranquebar. The interest spread to the city. In the churches of the chief city of Denmark a mission collection was raised and brought in 1,027 dollars, a really substantial sum for that time. The clergy, the inhabitants of the city, and the officials of the court vied with one another also in buying goods for the mission work.

Joy reached its height when the King approved the sending of three new missionaries. The court preacher Dr. Luetkens wrote to Rektor Lange in Berlin for a candidate. The other two he himself determined to find.

The interest in the first mission work of Evangelical Christianity which had set as its goal the evangelization of all India spread also to England. Court preacher Boehme of the German court chapel, a man well known in Christian circles in London and one highly respected, a friend of August Hermann Francke, translated the Berlin letters of Ziegenbalg into English in 1709 and called upon the country to contribute mission offerings. Even before the presses printed this English edition the first letters from England had already arrived in Tranquebar. Secret counsellor Ludolf, a well-known person in European public life, a much travelled learned scholar of oriental languages, secretary of Prince George of Denmark who was Prince Consort of the English Queen Anne, announced in a letter the sending of books and the initial donation of 120 dollars. It was the first gift from England for mission work in India.

That was the beginning of an extensive exchange of letters between the missionaries and English mission friends.

The court preacher Boehme did not hesitate to publish Ziegenbalg's ' begging-letter ' which Joachim Lange did not have published because it requested too large a mission donation from the homeland. For already in 1706 Ziegenbalg, hardly arrived in India, had indicated in a letter to his school friend von de Linde the need for 4,000 dollars to set the new work in motion.

Boehme was not mistaken in the assumption that this ' begging-letter' would, more than the others, have effective power. Special contributions were received. Among the English contributors the highest cleric of the Church of England, T. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, headed the list. When such mission friends were found, even the English East India Trading Company, which annually set sail a large fleet of freighters to East India, could not remain aloof. This company declared itself ready, upon request, to take books and other gifts for the mission in Tranquebar without charge. A speedy and safe forwarding of mission mail was offered at the same time.

The warm-hearted court preacher Boehme, who like Francis of Assisi lived in self-chosen poverty and in want of life's necessities, a friend of the poor and the distressed in London, could knock at many doors for contributions. He dedicated the English edition of the mission letters to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts whose faithful members, known to him personally, were ready to pledge support. This society was not in a position to take an active part in efforts for the mission work in India because in its charter it was limited to the spiritual care of members of the Church of England who had emigrated to North America and to the support of the mission among the Red Indians. But this society directed the way to her older sister, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which supplied England with Christian literature and above all founded Christian schools for poor children. This society was at once ready to assist the India mission work through support of the mission schools and through provision of Christian literature for India.

An India Committee was founded which at first met weekly and developed a joyful zeal. Its secretary Newman became a warm friend of the missionaries and worked untiringly for them throughout his lifetime. Nothing was too much for him. Cheerfully he stood at the side of the German court preacher in helpful friendship. In 1710 a second edition of missionary letters appeared. An enlarged second collection of letters, which included the original letters of Ziegenbalg to his London

mission friends, followed soon after. The Society added thereto a plea to the English public to send in donations for the publication of the New Testament in the Portuguese language. Publications for the mission were to be printed in England. Within three years over 8,000 dollars were available. Highly pleased with this response from the public, the India Committee decided not only to complete the printing of the Portuguese New Testament but also to send to Tranquebar a completely equipped printing press with Roman type so that the missionaries could open their own printing establishment which would make them independent of the long and uncertain lines of communication with Europe.

Jonas Finck, a pious teacher in London, was prepared to learn the art of printing and finally sailed to India with all the machinery on an English ship.

For the planned mission high school in Tranquebar the Society also sent a great number of costly mathematical instruments. Ziegenbalg's mission letters had been read through so attentively that even this request was fulfilled. The missionaries were accepted as corresponding members of the Society, an honour given to but few Germans, August Hermann Francke being one of them.

India now stood in the centre of public attention in England. For the first time people in Christian circles saw the great obligation toward this land of religions. The English East India Company considered it sufficient to send three English preachers to India for its European employees at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, though this number was too few to render spiritual service to all the English. But people went to India to get rich quickly. Everything else was of secondary importance. The Society now assisted these three English padres and made them corresponding members. Repeatedly it pointed out to these men the mission task in India. It wrote formal proposals to the Governor and the all powerful English Council in Madras not to neglect the sacred obligation to bring the Gospel to the Indians but rather to foster it.

Even though the English officials in India were not any more friendly toward missions than was Hassius in Tranquebar, they now had to take into account the fact that even in English public life an interest for mission work had awakened which could not be ignored without danger. Three bishops, seven members of Parliament, the royal court preacher and other well-known persons in London signed a letter addressed to the Governor of

Madras in which they wrote: 'Who knows but that the trade so widely expanded, which has extended into the farthest corners of the earth, may be a means which the wise foreknowledge of God may wish to use in order to make room for the glorious entrance of the Christian Church into these lands. Even though we should not live to see such a blessed time, nevertheless before God, we would not be without responsibility if we do not foster it, especially since we are able to do so. We would also make ourselves unworthy of seeing such a glorious time.' Those were truly gratifying words!

In Copenhagen active hands, in London zeal and desire to help and in Berlin the German mission centre: this was the response resulting from the letters of the missionaries whose simplicity gained the victory over the crafty Hassius.

The Lord, who could lead men's hearts, through these first mission letters, also called August Hermann Francke whose name and work shone brightly in the whole of Evangelical Christendom. The letters of Ziegenbalg warmed his heart and since both missionaries asked him personally for a contribution for the continuation of their work, Francke began to commend this work to his wide circle of friends. When Francke spoke, thousands paid attention. A stream of gifts for the mission began to flow which even surprised Francke. In a short time he had 700 dollars. In 1708 he inserted a few short mission news items in the political newspaper called the *Halle News*. From that circle of readers 470 dollars were received.

Great joy reigned in Francke's institutions. Faithful Elers who was in charge of the book store of the orphanage packed boxes of books for the missionaries. The pharmacy, which had become famous in Europe through its medicines, did not wish to stand back and sent a shipment of its best medicines to Tranquebar worth 1,000 dollars.

At first Franke thought of quietly sending the 'God-given blessing for the missionaries' to India and then publishing the missionaries' letters of acknowledgment and gratitude in order to obtain new gifts for the mission. But finally he decided to send the money via Copenhagen. For he had heard of a Danish ship with mission money on board which had been stranded off Jutland in 1707. Therefore it was wise, thought Francke, to send the gifts from Halle to Copenhagen so that the mission friends would at least have the acknowledgment of the court preacher Luetkens.

Thus in September 1708 the connection between Halle and

Copenhagen came about which remained in existence practically a hundred years and proved to be a great blessing. The thoughtful Francke had the letter which reported the gifts delivered by personal messenger. Previously he had contacted Joachim Lange in Berlin who had informed him that Luetkens was looking for new missionaries. Both men, Francke and Luetkens, agreed to call the thirty-year old Master Gruendler, the gifted and faithful co-worker of Francke in the royal training institute at Halle. Shortly before, Gruendler had rejected an honorary position as instructor at the State Academy in order to be free to accept a call into mission service in case a call came his way. The Berlin mission friends also sent theological student Jordan with Gruendler so that Luetkens, who already had called as missionary a theologian of Westphalia, Boevingh by name, who boarded with him, could announce to the king that three men could be sent out.

Between Luetkens and Francke, who until then had not known each other, there developed through the mediation of Gruendler, a warm correspondence and not only over mission matters. This correspondence became a consolation for the increasingly lonely last days of the severely ill court preacher who had been robbed of his influence. In all the troublesome days that were yet to come upon the young mission work, Francke wielded very considerable influence for the initial evangelization of India through the power of his personality and through his determination to keep the mission work alive. For in the suffering of the Northern Wars, the plague and the fears of war, the zeal for missions in Denmark was extinguished never really to flare up again. Incompetent and timid men, such as the Danish pastor Lodberg and Professor Trellund who in 1712 received charge of missions from the dying Luetkens, had but one purpose, that only Danes and not Germans should be sent as missionaries.

Again it was the King, busy with many things, who made the correct decisions. Two absolutely incompetent Danish candidates whom the inspectors Trellund and Lodberg had insisted on choosing, the King rejected and also permitted the two inspectors to resign ! In 1712 he set aside for all time 2000 dollars out of the surpluses of the Norwegian postal treasuries for the Tranquebar mission thus guaranteeing the mission salaries. Finally in 1714 upon Francke's suggestion he founded a mission board which conducted the mission work in Copenhagen conscientiously and remained in existence

for more than one hundred years. Between August Hermann Francke and the King no personal relations ever existed. Frederick IV, in contrast to other rulers, did not learn to know Halle and on the one occasion, when he was minded to journey to Karlsbad, he intended to by-pass Halle. Perhaps because of his marriage affairs he avoided too close a contact with Francke.

The English friends, as well as the missionaries, soon saw in August Hermann Francke the real leader of the India mission and turned in all decisive matters not to Copenhagen but to the great man of Halle through court preacher Boehme who in England represented his work.

Only a few letters of Ziegenbalg, filling a small book but rich in great ideas and originating out of a great heart, joined together Copenhagen, London and Halle for the first time in the history of Evangelical Christendom since the days of Luther. Pious members of three churches joined in working for the Church in India and remained together a full century. King Frederick IV, remarkable for his freedom of decision, the noble court preacher Luetkens, the beloved Boehme in London, the great August Hermann Francke and the first great witness of Evangelical faith in India, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, were the instruments of God which enabled the new work to succeed in spite of all antagonism.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WIDER HORIZONS

'*They have sufficiently proved that they do not seek temporal things. Both have the qualities that they could easily be drawn into a different kind of mission work in India where they would be supported in a much better way, and we can never thank God enough that He keeps them by the divine intent to live with the Indians and to die in their midst.*' August Hermann Francke regarding Ziegenbalg and his co-worker.

From November 19, 1708 until March 26, 1709 Bartholomaeus was in prison. No trial had taken place. When he was permitted to leave the prison his health had suffered very severely so that he could undertake no new work.

Yet on July 20, 1709 he experienced the greatest joy and surprise of his life. The three new missionaries disembarked from the Danish ships anchored before Tranquebar. Various money chests containing several thousand dollars were carried into the mission house. The heavy mail packet contained encouraging letters from countless friends of God in many lands. The reigning Queen and the Princess Sophia Hedwiga of Denmark had enclosed letters written with their own hand. All these letters re-echoed the joy contained in the joyful reports which Ziegenbalg had sent to Europe. Renewed royal injunctions commanded the Governor to protect and foster the mission.

Student Jordan who had to spend the voyage among the ship's sailors with much inconvenience and hardships became assistant to Pluetschau, the faithful pastor of the Portuguese congregation. Gruendler, Master of Theology, who was at once heart and soul with Ziegenbalg, concentrated on the Tamil language but the learned Westphalian Boevingh, who for seven years had studied and taught at universities, was an outspoken individualist. He was lured by the European fame which Ziegenbalg enjoyed and no doubt went out with the secret wish to build an independent mission in order also one day to sun himself in the bright light of European publicity. But he lacked the selfless nature of Ziegenbalg. He learned Tamil from the grammar book and not in the midst of Tamil children to instruct whom he showed neither zeal nor perseverance. This work seemed too small and unimportant to him. Therefore no

blessing rested upon his work. In addition he, the Westphalian, believed he had to represent the Danish cause and joined the Danish preachers and the Governor who added insult upon insult. But Hassius deceived him shamefully and played a same false game with him. Finally Boevingh, who also thought that in matters of theology he had to defend orthodoxy over against the pietistic missionaries, went to Bengal, isolated through his own fault, in order to establish mission work there. However, he was caught in the throes of famine. The Tranquebar missionaries, with all good will, could not support him and so he returned to Europe penniless in order to obtain authority for a Bengal mission. His travel letters and reports on Tranquebar, which make painful reading because of their disagreeable spirit of fault-finding and a narrow, loveless criticism of Ziegenbalg, fell into wrong hands and suddenly appeared in print. In Europe they caused a storm of opposition against the mission which soon subsided.

Boevingh thereby removed the last possibility of working as a missionary and took charge of a parish in the German speaking section of Schleswig, burdened with a royal command, energetically given, to be silent on all mission matters. In the next hundred years whenever new missionaries were to be sent out, the plea was, do not send a Boevingh !

The time of suffering was not yet ended. Boevingh indeed was the cause of many bitter hours for the missionaries. Worse still was the continual enmity of the Governor who now used quieter methods which the public did not notice so quickly. One evil rumour after another was spread against the missionaries. An attack on a newly established mission station near the border by soldiers of the Hindu king of Tanjore was enacted. The missionaries were accused of being drunkards because they arranged for the shipment of a large order of cognac for the Dutch Port of Negapatam in order that thereby mission monies might be released which the Danish East India Company had invested in goods and which it could not sell. A small pilgrimage to the open books of the company was arranged so that every European and Indian could convince himself of the high wine purchases of the missionaries. These are only a few samples of the disgraceful conduct of the Governor.

The missionaries were convinced that in this situation it would be a waste of precious time to sit quietly in Tranquebar in order finally to be crippled by this cold war. It was decided that Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg should go to the royal court in Den-

mark and present an oral report, make new proposals and remove the hindrances. Ziegenbalg planned to work on the Bible translation during the voyage. But on September 10, 1709, Hassius refused Ziegenbalg permission to travel on a Danish ship. He said hypocritically that the sacred work of the Bible translation would be delayed if he gave permission. The denial of a place on a ship was a new form of imprisonment.

In the weeks of September 1709 there arose in Ziegenbalg and his co-workers the firm determination eventually to leave Tranquebar. Thus in 1709 and 1710 we find Ziegenbalg busy with travel plans or on long journeys. Nine days after the Governor's refusal to let Ziegenbalg travel to Europe, Ziegenbalg, together with Gruendler left the Tranquebar colony and travelled to the Dutch colony of Negapatam which was barely a day's journey away. Hassius stormed when he learned of this undertaking and gave the gate watch by the town wall the command to seize Ziegenbalg when he returned. Everywhere people feared that Hassius would cast Ziegenbalg in to the underground cellar of the fort. Messengers hastened after him.

However the Dutch Governor protected Ziegenbalg and let Gruendler return alone. Ziegenbalg was undismayed: 'We see indeed that our enemies change our right into wrong, our good deeds into terrible lies, even the most evident innocence into guilt; they will not succeed. Right must remain right and pious hearts will support it. At the same time we will trust in God that this may be a small passing cloud!'

When Gruendler passed through the Tranquebar gate without interference, Ziegenbalg also returned home safely. The Governor's anger had subsided. His council members refused to go one step farther with him. The newly inaugurated mail connection of the missionaries via the Dutch port of Negapatam over which Hassius had no influence, urged him to be careful.

The arrival of the first letter from London, which announced support from England, moved Ziegenbalg in January 1710 to set out for the English chief port in South India, the city of Madras, with a great caravan of Tranquebar merchants and six soldiers for protection, in order personally to take possession of the gifts. This journey turned out to be a victory procession. Ziegenbalg was carried in a sedan-chair. In the Indian towns and villages which the caravan touched, Indians by hundreds came together and paid the missionary, the respect that would be due to a Brahmin.

The English preacher Stevenson in Madras once observed

Ziegenbalg as he stood in the midst of the Indians and spoke with them. Although this impartial witness did not understand Tamil, yet he noticed the great attention and unmistakable kindness of the people. 'They were so satisfied and happy over the humble and friendly manner in which Ziegenbalg spoke to them in their own language.' Together with the sincerity and goodness of his heart there was united in this missionary an excellent knowledge of south India's religious thought. The Indians were astonished over two things, over the fact that suddenly there appeared a man who possessed such an outstanding knowledge of their spiritual heritage and over his noble personality which respectfully and lovingly adopted their culture.

Ziegenbalg possessed such a comprehensive knowledge that when he met a Brahmin reading out of one of India's holy books to an attentive audience, he would request him merely to mention the title of the book. Ziegenbalg would then tell the astonished priest and the wondering crowd of people the contents from memory and immediately begin to refute the same and then proclaim the Christian message. No wonder that the Indians listened spell-bound and without losing interest.

In addition Ziegenbalg was astonishingly fearless. In the middle of the night, when at a wild Indian festival the religious fervour had reached its height, Ziegenbalg suddenly appeared and stood next to the man who was butchering fowls for sacrifice and was still holding the bloody knife in his hands. And he knew how to grip the crowd in such a way that they willingly listened to his invitation to leave idol worship and to worship God in spirit and in truth.

Especially did Ziegenbalg sponsor the cause of the masses of poor Indians who had been deprived of their rights. They were always on his side whenever he took the Brahmins to task for letting the poor people suffer. The priests to him were the religious leaders who had to bear the main guilt for the people's ignorance and for their foolish worship of idols and demons. It was, of course, no use that the Brahmins knew of a divine essence behind all the appearances as long as they directed the majority of their believers only to an endless number of gods. On one occasion he rebuked the Brahmins: 'It serves you right if the untouchables forsake you. You do not help them; you only seek their alms!'

From Madras Ziegenbalg travelled inland for five days. On the way he took the opportunity in all places to proclaim the Gospel in which the average Indians took pleasure; only the

Brahmins showed displeasure. On the fifth day many boils and swellings appeared on his feet since he had to walk barefoot most of the time because the countryside was flooded. The next day he had to rest in an Indian rest house until the swellings and the pain of the boils became more bearable. During that time the Brahmins came to him for religious discussions. Ziegenbalg did not evade their shrewd questions. The steel-like soundness of his understanding permitted him to conduct the arguments so excellently that he put the most searching questions to them very personally which left them silenced and ashamed. This time they left him with bitterness and enmity in their hearts.

The next morning, before four o'clock, as the missionary was still sleeping, the Brahmins again stood near the rest house and said to one another in Telugu : ' He is sleeping ! Let us kill him.' A Tamil youth from Tranquebar whom Ziegenbalg had with him and who later became a catechist, was awake and knew Telugu. He wakened Ziegenbalg and told him what he had heard. With presence of mind Ziegenbalg aroused all the sleeping Indians in the rest house so that movement and noise could be heard and then went into a nearby cluster of bushes where he with the three Tamil Christians who accompanied him fell upon his knees, prayed to God and quietly went back.

Usually such difficult opposition did not arise. A rare power went out from this man who had no fear of death. He sought every opportunity to have discussions with Indians. Tamilians love to sit by moonlight in the shade of their huts and high trees and to chat for a while with their neighbours. He would sit down with them or he would walk to the seashore where the fishermen were mending and cleaning their nets and were separating the bad fish from the good ones and would speak to them of Him who by the Sea of Galilee had called fishermen to follow Him. Or he would wait by the side of a temple until Indians would gather about him and would begin a religious discussion after the manner of the Hindu priests who were wont to sit on the side of the road to talk to people who would listen.

Gladly he would take a class of pupils or at least a number of boys and instruct them in the Indian rest house. Indians would quickly gather and listen with great interest to the instruction with its questions and answers. When Ziegenbalg returned from Madras after he had taken possession of the English cases of books and money gifts, he could say to his brethren : ' The field is ripe for the harvest'. He told the brethren

of the grand reception given by the Governor of Madras and by the Europeans in the ten European ports which they had visited on their journey. Mission work was independent of Tranquebar and its persecutors. At any time new mission work could be started and carried on in the protected areas of the Dutch or English.

Without waiting Ziegenbalg planned. In 1711 he prepared for an exploratory trip to Ceylon which was a possession of the Dutch. He had learned that the Dutch would at once agree to the beginning of mission work in their territory. Concerning Tranquebar he reported : 'Here my hands are tied'. For some reason the journey, during which he also intended to serve Germans living in Ceylon with the Word of God, was not undertaken. Later on however, the spiritual care of the Germans in Ceylon, was given to the Tranquebar missionaries.

Ziegenbalg remained in Madras and its vicinity for five months and used every opportunity to have discussions. During that time he met pious Armenians, those able and much-travelled merchants, whom one could find everywhere in those days. Some of them later actually travelled as far as Norway. Invited to the royal table of Frederick IV who happened to be in the country at the time, they sang the praises of Ziegenbalg whom they had learned to know in Madras and had visited in Tranquebar. So small was the world even then ! In the Indian section of Madras the missionaries lived in an Indian house with two Armenians, who had received them. The Armenians suggested that he accompany them into the kingdom of Pegu into an area in which Christianity had not yet received a bad name through the offensive life of Europeans. There Ziegenbalg would not have to worry and fret as in Tranquebar and the people were far more willing to become Christians. They would bear all the travel expenses and would gladly contribute the necessary monies for the new beginning. They requested him to travel through India with them in order to explore thoroughly mission opportunities and to conduct religious conversations everywhere. They wanted Ziegenbalg to undertake correspondence with their Armenian bishops through their mediation.

Evidently these experienced and wise Armenians who held fast to their orthodox faith correctly gauged the outstanding personality of Ziegenbalg. He would have gone with them but severe stomach pains kept him from making the difficult journey in the tropical heat.

Finally, because of his poor health and in order to escape the unbearable heat, he remained at the foot of St. Thomas Mount near Madras on top of which, ever since the glorious days of the Portuguese in India, the Roman Catholic mission had possessed a church for pilgrims.

It was a sad time for the Roman Catholic mission which had been working in India for more than 150 years. After a remarkable history of great sacrifice and storms of persecution heroically withstood, the mission now showed signs of severe decline. In the days of Ziegenbalg it lacked self-sacrificing priests with a mastery of the local language. Large groups of neglected Roman Catholic Indians in the kingdom of Tanjore had already sent their deputation to Tranquebar. Thousands of them were ready to place themselves under the protection of the evangelical mission if it could offer them the opportunity and protection of settling in the Danish colonial territory. In view of the hostile attitude of the Governor, Ziegenbalg was unable to give such an assurance and was compelled to let these sorely afflicted Christians from the non-Christian state of Tanjore return in sorrow. Also in Madras, Roman Catholic Indians repeatedly requested him to build an evangelical church. Many of them would then come.

Ziegenbalg's heart was heavy. While he untiringly sought to call non-Christians to the faith and to win them, countless Indians who had been gained for the Roman Catholic Church were sinking back into heathenism.

Ziegenbalg knew he had a duty toward all, and yet he could not have too many irons in the fire. Everywhere he saw only the human heart, with its longing after inward and outward security, seeking rest in God. The plain German soldier in Tranquebar, the poor slaves in the power of the unwise Europeans, the non-Christian Indians in their unsatisfied religious longing, the great mass of agricultural coolies whose poverty was indescribable and who sank ever deeper intellectually and economically, the neglected Roman Catholic Indians, with all and with each one of these he considered himself joined in a world-wide brotherhood. Thereby he set the tone for the entire mission work of the Danish-Halle missionaries after him who cared as earnestly for the economically and spiritually demoralized Europeans in the land as they did for the Indians themselves.

In the wild 18th century in which bitter battles were fought and wars raged, the service among the white people, those of

mixed descent and the Indians saved the mission work from being pulled into the deep by the whirlpool of events. Did Ziegenbalg foresee as he, at the foot of St. Thomas Mount called people in India to the security of the evangelical faith, that the Tamil New Testament would fall into the hands of a Roman Catholic petty officer belonging to the poorest caste of the untouchables, and that it would become a revelation to him? This Rajanayakan, gripped by the power and the glory of the newly revealed Christian message, went to Tranquebar and was instructed by the missionaries and became an evangelical. Later this man was to walk the long distance into the interior of the Tanjore kingdom and inspire a great movement among his Roman Catholic brethren and the non-Christians. By the hundreds they annually travelled to Tranquebar, took instruction and then went deep into the interior of south India and drew thousands after them. Finally the missionaries followed them and opened mission stations in the interior.

But Ziegenbalg unknowingly influenced an Italian Jesuit in Florence, the highly gifted Beschi, to hinder this protestant mission work which was trying to gain a place in south India alongside the century-old Roman Catholic mission. He went to India in 1710. He it was, who, in many ways, not shrinking back even from advocating the use of force and assassination, sought to hinder the growth of the evangelical mission in the whole of south India and to rebuild the Roman Catholic mission.

How contemptible were all those critics, envious persons and enemies of this towering missionary, who opposed him in Evangelical Christendom! Prematurely he had to wear himself out and spend his strength to overcome them. Before his second journey to Madras he wrote to Europe: 'We cannot think of continuing this work in Tranquebar; partly because we experience great opposition from government, partly because we have not received sufficient outward means this entire year.' Then followed these firm words, 'I believe that whatever has happened until now is merely a preparation for the future great conversion of the non-Christians. However, great obstacles stand in the way which will be difficult to remove.' We can realize that Tranquebar was too cramped for his personality and that it required the constant pleading of the other missionaries to move him to return to this small town. They needed him. Good fortune had departed from Tranquebar. The two Danish preachers who had worked against the missionaries so hostilely and stubbornly had suddenly died,

one upon the high seas on his way back to Europe. Death also overtook two of the council members unexpectedly. The stormy sea sent her tidal waves crashing on to land. Half of Tranquebar stood under water and collapsed in ruins. As though by a miracle, the mission buildings were spared from the ravages of water. But the opponents of the mission became increasingly stubborn and hardened. They would actually have rejoiced over their own downfall if only the hated mission work had also collapsed. Fires, famines and a severe decline in trade fell blow upon blow. Hassius was suddenly driven into a tight corner by Heinrich Bonsac, one of the Danish commissioners who had come on one of the Danish ships and possessed authority to examine the company's books. The most flagrant mismanagement was discovered. Since Heinrich Bonsac no longer considered himself to be safe, he quickly and with great secrecy sent his eldest son to Copenhagen via Negapatam in order to report and also advised the missionaries to leave. Pluetschau therefore sailed for Europe in 1711 after Ziegenbalg's voyage from Madras was prevented at the last moment by Hassius' protest. Pluetschau however, was not the man to see through the complicated and indiscernible conditions which had gained ground in Copenhagen during the Northern Wars and to demand that the persecutions in Tranquebar cease.

In Tranquebar the royal commissioner died under suspicious circumstances after he had closed his reports with official seals in order to guarantee that they would reach Copenhagen undamaged.

And still the work of the mission progressed step by step. In the midst of these sorrows they also experienced joy. In the autumn of 1713 three type-founders and a printer from Halle arrived. August Hermann Francke had assembled a Tamil printing office with Tamil characters. The English printing presses with Roman type and also the cases of paper finally arrived after a long voyage during which the ship went astray and the Londoner Jonas Frinck met a tragic death. With tears of joy the presses were set up and started. A widely expanded literary mission could now begin. The New Testament in Tamil, portions of the Old Testament, a hymnal, brief pamphlets for the Hindus, devotion and prayer books were printed and sent throughout Tamilnad. Even today, 250 years later, there are Tamil Christian families who are the proud possessors of an old Ziegenbalg Bible or a prayer book dating back to the years following 1713.

The years passed. In between the great exploratory journeys of 1710, 1711 and 1712 work was carried on among the newly-gained Indian Christians quietly and untiringly. The mission schools were extended. The entire male Christian youth was taken out of the parental homes for school and training purposes and was placed in a boarding home after the pattern of the great institutions of Francke which Ziegenbalg had carefully studied during his student days. The boys lived inside the spacious mission compound where they were fed, clothed and instructed. According to their several abilities they were later trained as teachers or pastors. Naturally only a few were gifted for these callings. The others the missionaries sought to have appointed in comparatively good posts in the colonial administration in order thus to help their families many of which were in dire economical distress.

All was done according to a careful plan and purpose as in Halle. But three years had already passed and no Danish ships had arrived in Tranquebar. The Northern War made its effect felt also in India and crippled Danish trade. A real consolation was the regular service of the English ships between the motherland and India. The connection with Europe remained intact but, the mission monies sanctioned by the Danish King did not arrive. A German jeweller in Madras loaned the harrassed missionaries 800 dollars without fixing a date for repayment.

Finally on February 13, 1714 a Danish ship reached Tranquebar bringing orders for the Governor and more than 1,000 dollars for the missionaries in addition to mail. But Ziegenbalg was dismayed by the Copenhagen letters from the mission inspector Prof. Lodberg. It seemed as though the floor under his feet began to rock. The successor of the faithful court preacher Luetkens could give no other advice than that Hassius and the missionaries must agree to an amnesty. All the hostile events of the years of oppression were to be forgotten. It was not difficult for Ziegenbalg to suffer the personal insults but were the insolent ridicule and mockery of the King's orders before Christians and non-Christians to go unpunished? Hassius, of course, was quite content that his past misdeeds should be hushed up.

But what would happen in future? How could this man who had shown such enmity ever decide to help the mission? Hassius was silent. However, he later let it be known that the directors of the Danish East India Trading Company had severely taken him to task. He had gone much too far in allowing the

building of a church and a school without previously asking permission from the directors in Copenhagen. Thus the situation had not changed.

The hour of decision came suddenly. In the middle of October 1714, in view of the fact that the ships were ready to sail back, Hassius invited Ziegenbalg and Jordan to dinner. Jordan, in the midst of so much hopelessness, concluded that he was doomed to remain a student forever and thus wished to return home. On this occasion Hassius showed them the secret orders which he had received from the directors of the trading company regarding mission matters. Ziegenbalg was astonished over such malice and meanness. Churches and schools were only to be built if the written permission of the directors in Copenhagen had been requested and given. Catechumens were expressly to be examined by the Governor to see whether they had been bought, coaxed or forced. All literature produced by the missionaries was to be examined and a record of publications was to be kept, a copy of which was to be sent to Copenhagen every year. Above all, the missionaries were at once—eventually through court decision—to refrain from every activity which would tend to decrease receipts in the company's treasury. This was obviously a spiteful plan slowly and secretly to choke the mission in its administration by means of the Governor's right of veto.

It was in these circumstances that Ziegenbalg made the greatest decision of his life, to return to Europe and force a showdown before the king. He considered every hour which he spent in Tranquebar under these circumstances a waste of time. Now he could shake the dust off his feet. Everything which until then had weighed heavily upon him now fell away from him. However, Hassius who knew of the accusations of the late commissioner Bonsac, all at once proposed an amnesty. Solemnly an amnesty was agreed upon between the council and the missionaries.

From that hour Hassius was no longer against the missionaries. Ziegenbalg at once received the assurance of a free voyage to Denmark in that he was offered a post as ship's chaplain. On October 26, 1714 Ziegenbalg, Jordan and two young Tamilians embarked on the ship, one of them was intended for the household of the queen mother and the other was to be Ziegenbalg's companion so that daily he could speak Tamil and not get out of practice. Peter Malaiappan the helper and travel companion of Ziegenbalg also spoke German. The congregation, grown

to be more than 3000 strong in spite of oppression, accompanied them to the seashore. Many non-Christians stood on the shore pleading that he would not leave India or would at least return soon. Ziegenbalg promised them that he would return within two years. This voyage Ziegenbalg described in a charming manner and whoever reads it today will not lay it down without being greatly moved.

CHAPTER EIGHT

JOURNEY TO EUROPE

'*Your first years are years of learning. The years of learning are also the most difficult ones, afterwards things will improve. So also the first years are years of sowing the seed. Later you will harvest. After work and difficulties follow refreshment, comfort and joy even though under continual heat and effort which harvest time brings with it.*' August Hermann Francke to Ziegenbalg.

In the first week of June 1715 a small boat with two Europeans and two Tamilians on board landed in the harbour of Bergen in Norway. They had left the Danish trading vessel in the Norweigian harbour of Norrison. It did not venture to sail to Copenhagen lest it be captured by the Swedes.

Ziegenbalg was greatly surprised when the people in the city reverently called him provost. In the churches of the Danish-Norwegian kingdom prayers were offered every Sunday for the mission by command of the king. For an entire year now there existed in Copenhagen a mission board called into being by royal edict for the purpose of administering the mission work.

What a change had occurred in ten years ! In 1705 two unknown young missionaries had gone to India on a great venture. Now countless friends and benefactors in the city crowded around the mission provost who for three long weeks found no opportunity to travel to the mainland and thus had to remain in Bergen. However, the people in every way made his stay there pleasant. He had to preach on Pentecost Day. Finally a ship took him to Hamburg and there the voyage companions separated. Jordan went to Halle in order to deliver the many interesting Indian gifts for Francke's famous collection of natural history specimens.

Ziegenbalg searched for the king of Demark. The Swedish king, Charles, XII who kept Europe in suspense departed from Turkey and returned to the north. A combined army of Danes, Prussians, Saxons and Hannoverians besieged the fortress of Stralsund in which the Swedes were entrenched and threatened the continent. Frederick IV was in camp in front of Stralsund. Ziegenbalg hastened to this camp where also the president of

the mission board, privy councillor von Holsten, was staying. A part of the governmental administration of the warring nations had also encamped near Stralsund. In July 1715 Ziegenbalg arrived at headquarters to the great surprise of Danish circles. They thought he was in India.

The long wait in camp had its good side. Very influential personalities and military personnel sought information from the mission provost concerning the work in India about which many unbelievably foolish and even evil reports had been circulated by the enemies of the mission. His reports had sometimes actually been received as accounts invented in Halle. Holsten desired that Ziegenbalg should visit Lutheran universities during his stay in Europe in order personally to make the acquaintance of learned circles and thus to gain their cooperation. But Ziegenbalg did not find time for that. Moreover his plan to build a large mission church in Tranquebar met with no response. Because of the Northern Wars people in the Danish-Norwegian Church had lost the courage to call for a mission offering. Ziegenbalg who did not easily lose sight of his goal decided to put forward his plan in Germany.

On July 26, 1715 Ziegenbalg succeeded in speaking to the king. The king was surprised to hear of the opposition, of the directors in Copenhagen and of the enmity of the governor. He had given orders and had believed that they would then be free of all opposition. When he heard that the last shipment of 6000 dollars had not reached them the king asked in astonishment whence the missionaries had received support. The king was satisfied with the amnesty which had mutually been established. He supported Ziegenbalg's intention to overcome the opposition of the directors in Copenhagen through direct negotiation. The mission provost could at any time turn directly to the king through the president von Holsten.

Since 1713 the king had the mission reports which were printed in Halle and the original letters of Ziegenbalg read to him in the mornings while he was dressing and now he asked Ziegenbalg remarkably pointed questions concerning many details. He himself spoke about the un-Christian treatment of Indian slaves by the European masters and showed his anger against them. Then he turned directly to the assembled men who were witnesses of the discussion and expressed his astonishment and joy that Ziegenbalg wished to return to India, having made sure of this by asking twice about his intentions, and gave them to understand that he knew of the magnitude of this sacrifice.

And now with the king's consent and at a signal of the private secretary young Peter Malaiappan entered the audience hall. According to oriental custom he prostrated himself before the king who bade him rise. In a brief, well-sounding German speech the young Tamilian thanked the king in the name of the Indian Christian congregation at Tranquebar for having called into being this mission work and asked him not to discontinue it so that the Gospel of Christ might be spread further in the Orient. The king then expressed his confidence over the increasing influence upon the Indians of the Christian literature that was being printed in the Tranquebar publishing house.

After his discussion with the king, Ziegenbalg immediately left the camp for Copenhagen. The special mail coach was at his disposal.

The journey was difficult for him. He was not yet able to accustom himself to the European climate. In Rostock he had to discontinue his journey and rest. To his sorrow he had to decline an invitation from the professors of the university. People wanted to keep him in Hamburg. He had an invitation to go to Strassburg but he was anxious to go to Copenhagen. On the way he obtained information regarding sailings for India. In Copenhagen, Ziegenbalg was immediately invited to see the queen and princess Sophia Hedwiga in Friedrichsburg. At the court he learned to his great joy that many had a great love for and interest in the mission. In Copenhagen there was at his disposal mission secretary Wendt who took care of the business of the mission board and who, being a friend of Boevingh, was a difficult person to deal with. The mission provost had to take care of his chief concern all alone. The directors of the trading company were very stubborn. They were convinced that every expansion of the India mission meant ruin for the East India trade. Hassius had taught them well.

Privy councillor Moth, a very rich man, showed himself most obstinate. The whole city took part in the proceedings and it required public pressure, which Pastor Duerkop applied by preaching against the opponents and admonishing them for their godlessness, to re-open the deadlocked negotiations. When the obstinate-minded Moth noticed that he was isolating himself more and more and that he finally stood alone in his opposition, he left the city for his country estates. Therewith the negotiations ended.

At the end of September through the constant efforts of Ziegenbalg, which Wendt tried to hinder, everything was held in abeyance. Either Moth, whom all in the company would gladly be rid of, had to resign or he had to agree. Finally even the mission board lost its angelic patience over this dispute and urged the company to retract all secret orders or they would refer the matter to the king for decision. That helped. They agreed to withdraw the orders that were hostile to the mission and in the place of governor Hassius, who was deposed, they appointed von Nissen who was friendly to the mission.

The mission provost remained in the palace six days. The queen, a Christian tried and proved through tribulation, discussed the deepest matters with Ziegenbalg and finally sent greetings to 'her brothers and sisters in East India'. Now the way to Germany was open. The German and Latin journals and newspapers of his beloved country had long ago announced his arrival. The mission friends, scattered in all the Lutheran state churches of Germany, had heard of his desire to build a large mission church in Tranquebar. Faithful friends busied themselves to gather funds. In Wuerttemberg a collection was undertaken through court preacher Samuel Urlsperger which was announced from the pulpit and gathered by the officials of the duke. Also Saxony-Meinigen authorized a collection.

In a letter of thanks to the people of Wuerttemberg Ziegenbalg regretted that he was no longer able to undertake his planned journey to southern Germany. He stayed in Halle only a few weeks in order to supervise the printing of the Tamil grammar. Thoughts of India urged speed. Francke and Ziegenbalg met, had long discussions and became close friends. The fifteen-year-old Count Zinzendorf, who was in the royal academy, saw the great and famous missionary face to face. Ziegenbalg did not surmise that out of this somewhat difficult and fiery count a religious genius was emerging who would accept a mission call and work in a grand and remarkable but different way.

After the Tamil grammar was in print Ziegenbalg evidently undertook a short journey to his home town Pulsnitz via Merseburg and Leipzig. However, we have no record of his visit there. The purpose of the difficult European journey was accomplished, winter drew near and Ziegenbalg was already in a mood to leave. The voyage across Holland to England and the return on an English ship was already fixed.

CHAPTER NINE

MARIA DOROTHEA

'*From all that has taken place I realize that our marriage has been established by God and I rejoice over the wonderful leading of God which I have experienced therein.*' Maria Dorothea to her brother, August 20, 1716.

On his journey to Saxony, Ziegenbalg visited Merseburg. He was to preach there where he had served as a tutor. When he enquired of the welfare of his friends and former students he learned that his fatherly benefactor, government secretary Salzmann of southern Germany to whom he had written from India, was dead. His widow with her grown-up children had gone to Halle and were living there in modest circumstances. Nothing was more natural than that he should visit the Salzmann family before he left Halle for Holland.

There he met Maria Dorothea, their only daughter and his student, a young girl in whose cheerful, natural manner he at once took delight. Through his good knowledge of people, he quickly observed the unusually careful training Maria Dorothea had enjoyed and how she was far above the average girl of that day in her knowledge. The girl reciprocated his feelings and did not conceal her affection for him which quickly grew within her.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg made a quick decision. He still had to obtain a frightened mother's consent to take away her only daughter and leave her with only two sons. The mother finally gave her consent which would not have caused her the least difficulty if her son-in-law had remained in Europe and if she could have spent her last days in his home in her sorrowful widowhood.

The marriage took place. On December 2, 1715, they left Germany. Their destination was Holland and then England. Since his ten years in India had made him unaccustomed to a cold winter, a severe attack of illness laid Ziegenbalg low. With God's help Maria Dorothea nursed him back to health with tender, loving care day and night.

In London the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge provided for them. There many things were still uncertain. Queen Anne had died. Her successor, Elector George of

Hanover, had reigned but a short time. The old court preacher Boehme was deposed at the time of change of rulers and was without income. He and others of Queen Anne's court first had to atone for Anne's refusal to the very last to see George of Hanover in England. Finally things became normal and he received back his office and income. Thus the court preacher at that time was not in a position to care for Ziegenbalg and his wife but the house arranged for the mission couple was very near to him. Through his trusted friends in the Society many doors were opened to Ziegenbalg and his wife. The invitations from influential families increased. Neither he nor his wife could speak English. With her excellent knowledge of French, Maria Dorothea managed the conversations but in her house visitors were constantly present so that daily a student had to serve as interpreter when French could not be the means of communication. What a wide world opened up for Maria Dorothea who was so unexpectedly transplanted into the world at large.

She stood the test before the critical eyes of English women of character. She was invited to the princesses. The episcopal members of the Society arranged a meeting between Ziegenbalg and King George I, who later often wrote encouraging letters in his own hand. That meant much in a time when all people were accustomed to imitate kings and princesses, even though George I, who was not free from miserliness, seldom opened his royal purse for the mission.

For the mission provost the most decisive moment in London came when in a solemn meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge he greeted them with a Latin address and in the same language expressed his thanks and made his requests.

As both of them, accompanied by the faithful Tamilian Peter, left England on March 4th on the English ship *Prince Frederick* they could acknowledge with thanks to God that they left many mission friends in this land who were prepared to pray for and contribute to the mission. The interest of the English king and of very many influential English persons gave promise of the possibility of expanding the work of missions beyond the narrow confines of the small Danish colony into the measureless territory under English influence.

The mission provost carried with him in bonds contributions totalling 10,000 dollars. His thoughts concentrated on the planned church building. He possessed no orders restricting the use of these mission gifts.

At dawn on August 10, 1716, Madras came into view. How would the Indian scene affect the young wife? At nine o'clock the anchor was let down in the harbour. The city was greeted by the ship with a 21-gun salute. Twenty-one salvos were returned by the coastal fort. Europeans and Indians came aboard the ship. People had expected the mission provost and letters from Tranquebar were brought on board which extended to him greetings of welcome. Ziegenbalg and his wife were the first passengers to leave the ship. A great number of Indians stood on shore. Quickly the news of Ziegenbalg's arrival had spread. Bartholomaeus and Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg had to squeeze through a crowd of happy and excited Indians. They remained in Madras for some days.

In the meantime the brethren in Tranquebar, Master Gruendler who had married a young Danish widow of a Tranquebar council member and the three printers from Halle, waited. The congregation prepared itself for his arrival. Young Mrs. Gruendler had made the mission house comfortable for them. Maria Dorothea to whom she had sent greetings on ahead to Madras needed merely to come. The Tamil boys of the mission school joyfully looked forward to welcome the missionary's wife.

How friendly the small Indian town of Tranquebar had become. All hatred and enmity were gone. Hassius respectfully greeted the mission provost and his wife. Not without inner emotion did Maria Dorothea glance toward the Danish fort 'Dansborg' where her Bartholomaeus had suffered for four months. But now the sun was again shining. Two men who had experienced and suffered much together, now possessed in their family life a little of the homeland. The Tamil women carried their troubles to the missionary's wife. The Portuguese and Tamil congregations were happy that by the side of the two missionaries two quiet and friendly missionary wives were in charge of the mission houses.

The way for a strong new beginning was open.

CHAPTER TEN

EARLY DEATH

'*In a few years the Danish missionaries did as much work as two or three men could possibly do. They learned two languages. They translated many books. They opened schools, built churches and trained catechists for future service in the mission. What can the royal society expect from the work of two men though they work ever so zealously? I can assure them that the pastoral care which the missionaries must give to the newly converted, together with translating important books, attending to the printing of the same and other work, take up their entire time. If the work of the mission is to be successful some six to eight missionaries should be sent out. Two or three will have to be in Tranquebar in order to train catechists and teachers.*' Pastor Stevenson of Madras to the Society in London on August 25, 1716.

On August 31, 1716, at nine o'clock at night, Bartholomeaus Ziegenbalg and his wife, after a nine-day journey over land, arrived in Poreiar, a village directly in front of Tranquebar. The town gates were already closed. Master Gruendler had sent two Tamilian Christians to meet them so that they would have friends with them, and the small caravan rested in the mission garden. Early next morning, as the town gates were opened, Master Gruendler and his wife came to meet them. They had already had a report of their arrival. Joy reigned in Tranquebar among Christians and non-Christians.

The mission provost had many new plans. In Sadraspatnam, near to Madras, he had already given the order to cut durable stones for the new mission church in Tranquebar. He wisely made use of the good will toward the mission of people in Madras and in all European ports of Tamilnad that were under the control of colonial companies.

He called for the building of the new church. The old house of God had become too small for the Indian Christians and the increasing number of catechumens. The ground for the new church was soon marked out and the foundation was laid. In his address at the cornerstone-laying ceremony Ziegenbalg spoke of the early Christian Church as though he had a foreboding of the storm clouds which were to gather over him and his work. The apostles had proclaimed the message of salvation in houses,

in rented halls, in the streets, fields, desert places and ships and on mountains, wherever people came together. These apostles built no churches. A small water brook sufficed to baptize non-Christians. But now different times had come. In the land of thousands of temples and mosques, the building of a large and beautiful house of God by the first Evangelical mission in India, much more than a mere hut which quickly falls into ruin, was of significant meaning, an encouragement to concentrated work and a testimony to a great hope.

The mission gifts which he had brought along were used for the new church. They were insufficient. Now Ziegenbalg's untiring and patient work bore fruit. The Europeans in India understood the signs of the times. They vied with one another in contributing toward the success of the great undertaking. Sailors and captains who landed in Indian ports after a happy voyage, Dutch, Danish and English governors in Tamilnad, dying seamen on the high seas contributed money and materials. A Danish Officer donated the heavy beams for the church roof. The mission provost could publish a long list of gifts. Even governor Hassius, recalled to Europe, sent a considerable sum to the mission house through a servant.

The new house of God, which was built solidly to last for centuries and today still serves a Tamil Lutheran congregation, was given the name 'New Jerusalem'. As once the Gospel began its march of victory through the old world from the old Jerusalem in the Holy Land, and as the seat of the first Christian congregation, so Ziegenbalg petitioned God that from this mission church 'New Jerusalem', Christianity might spread over all of India and usher in a new day. And as once the non-Christian ancestors of the European nations tore down their temples and let their altars fall into ruin when the messengers of the Christian Church entered their land and they forsook idolatry and accepted Christianity, thus Ziegenbalg hoped that the Indian people in large numbers, would forsake their idol worship and worship the one true God who created heaven and earth.

Tranquebar was to become a city on a hill with a flourishing Christian congregation which in zeal of faith and holy living was to become a burning torch sending its light far and wide. In this first Indian Christian congregation Ziegenbalg wished to train young Indians in the carefully built up mission schools, who would prepare themselves for service as teachers and pastors of their people.

In a letter Ziegenbalg wrote: 'Experience has taught

us that such work must first be well grounded in one place among the East India non-Christians before one can successfully begin in another place. Now Tranquebar is such a place where from among the non-Christians a congregation of many thousands could be gathered and many fine institutions could be built up. If with God's help such a work should come to pass in this place, it can also expand into other places in East India.' These were truly clear principles. The work of training the newly-gained Christians was to continue endlessly, for those who live in non-Christian surroundings are incessantly oppressed and tempted thereby to fall back into their old heathen ways. Some relapsed but returned again. Ziegenbalg was not impatient for Christianity first had to take root and decades would pass before the Christian way of life and Christian customs would establish themselves. It was a great undertaking to prepare the way for an indigenous Church in India. In the new India mission church, because of the strict caste system, the middle castes sat on one side and the pariahs on the other. Since the 'New Jerusalem' church was built in the shape of a cross, the women sat in the wings unseen by the men, on the one side the sudra women, and on the other side the pariah women. This was the only concession granted to the strict caste system of the Tamil people that caste and outcaste people could sit separately. At communion the same chalice was used for all. Trusting in the working of God's Word in the hearts of the people, Ziegenbalg through patient instruction and training, sought to alleviate the difficulties until the time came when they would disappear. He found well paid positions for capable pariah children and thus raised them and their families to a higher social standing.

Ziegenbalg was a gifted musician and from the beginning made the Indian congregation a singing congregation. He even introduced the typical Indian form of sermon-in-song.

Christian customs which attracted Indians while counteracting non-Christian evil customs came into vogue. At weddings the young Christian couple, adorned according to Indian custom, also went in procession in the streets. But this was not done noisily as at non-Christian weddings where the many wedding guests created a disquieting noise in order to drive away evil spirits, but was done in reverent earnestness. After the wedding in the house of God, the bridal couple were encircled by the Christian school children and then went in procession singing to the bride's home, joined by the congregation. There a moderate feast was enjoyed. With the singing of hymns and chorales and

the reading of a brief portion from the Bible the function ended. At non-Christian weddings, excessive expenses left heavy burden of debts for years; here that temptation was overcome.

Burials likewise were conducted with reverence. The congregation joined in the procession to the cemetery. The mourning family also did not return to their house alone; congregation and school children accompanied the family. They sat together for a while and sang appropriate hymns. God's Word comforted them again and turned their thoughts heavenward.

Glorious were the baptism festival days on which, after months of instruction erstwhile non-Christians publicly renounced Hinduism, many confessed their new faith and requested baptism. In the schools in which the missionaries were daily present and in which they taught at least one lesson, Christian youths grew up from which many a faithful co-worker was gained. Padre Stevenson of Madras judged correctly as he described with astonishment the wide extent of the work of missionaries. In two languages both on Sundays and week days sermons were preached. A large correspondence with mission friends, extending even to North America, had to be carried on. An exact account had to be kept of every dollar received and expended. The publishing house required fresh manuscripts. The translation of portions of the Old Testament continued. Proofs had to be read. Non-Christians daily requested religious discussion. A stream of people kept coming and going.

Christian teachers taught in the mission schools. Catechists drilled the words of the Catechism to practically illiterate catechumens as well as hymn verses and Bible stories. These men at the same time regularly visited the Christians living scattered in surrounding villages and comforted the sick. They required weekly preparation. The actual catechumen instruction was given by the missionaries. There was an inconceivably great amount of work.

In addition, Ziegenbalg always found time to leave Tranquebar and travel into villages and towns in order to have religious discussions with Indians. In 1717 Ziegenbalg again journeyed to Madras. On his return trip he also had discussions with some Mohammedans in Porto Novo, a Dutch town. Many listened. At the end of the discussion the missionary gave out Tamil books regarding true Christianity. A number of Mohammedans found it unbearable that their religion should not be the true one. They went to the Moslem leader in the town and accused Ziegenbalg. A certain amount of unrest arose. A great

crowd of people entered the garden in which Ziegenbalg was standing and conversing with Hindus. The tumult increased. Because disorder reigned, Ziegenbalg interrupted the discussion and went to his room.

In the night excited Moslems sat by their leader. The next morning at 7 o'clock a crowd of people gathered on the maidan in front of the Dutch house in which Ziegenbalg was staying and desired to take him to the Moslem leaders to give an account of his statements. However, the missionary unaware of their plans had left the place before the day's heat began. When the crowd learned that they had come too late, they created a great commotion and then dispersed.

These were, however, rare experiences among all the evidences of a great affection for the missionaries among Indians and Europeans in the land. But it is a sad fact that Ziegenbalg and his friend Gruendler suffered severely through criticism from the mission in Europe. This criticism was levelled against the missionaries from quarters from which the missionaries could not with good reason expect it.

The mission secretary Christian Wendt in Copenhagen and the mission board which was completely under his thumb earned sad fame. When Ziegenbalg was in Copenhagen he realized that Wendt who kept up a constant friendship with the unfortunate Boevingh, was not favourably inclined toward him and his methods of work. But Wendt, who was a familiar figure in the house of the late D. Luetkens and who at one time was considered by him as a missionary candidate, imagined that he was a mission expert who had to watch over the purity and soundness of the work of the mission. In 1714 he was in Halle. He also had helped to found the mission board. He had charge of the administrative work of the board and was possessed with the idea that an apostolic mission in India was the only way to make this land Christian. The missionaries like the apostles of old should wander about and preach from place to place without any money in their purse. The newly-gained Christians were to form congregations and build churches and schools out of their own resources. The missionary as wandering preacher was not to waste his strength in these undertakings.

Listen to Wendt himself. 'If you say that by such methods almost the entire mission would collapse on which you now have worked for twelve years with much zeal, then we answer and repeat it : everything which hinders you from going out among the non-Christians and from orally proclaiming the Gospel,

must be destroyed, must fall away and disappear. Just think how expensive your church and school establishments are !'

It was the fear of empty treasuries and the increasing requests of the missionaries for fellow-workers and mission contributions that led the gentlemen in Copenhagen willingly to subscribe to this pious folly. The question of expense frightened these men who were living in a country which had become economically poor through a long war. The state debts had increased tremendously. The colonies no longer brought in much revenue. The Danish Church no longer was able to rouse itself to a serious interest in missions. In these straits Christian Wendt offered his unfailing recipe : Europe does not possess the money to build mission churches and schools. India herself must take care of this. Europe would only send missionaries and contribute to their support.

The fact that the missionaries had married and were living in Tranquebar in established homes was an abomination to the unmarried secretary. More irritating to him was the fact that because of increase in cost of living the missionaries could no longer get along on their salaries. The missionaries could not entirely do without expensive European food if they wished to retain their capacity for the work demanded of them. August Hermann Francke suggested that the salaries be increased by 100% or 150%. Finally after a long delay the salaries were only slightly increased but with disgraceful stipulations.

Ziegenbalg had already seen through this loveless, faultfinding Wendt in 1715 in Copenhagen. He had two personal talks with him without however being able to convince him of his wrong position. At that time he was nobly silent about these sad experiences. But a report of these talks must have come to the notice of influential men of Munich who at once saw to it that Ziegenbalg received the decisions he sought from the trading company and could confidently sail in peace.

After that matters did not improve but became steadily worse. A glance into Wendt's old mission accounts shows that he had succeeded in burdening the mission treasury with Ziegenbalg's food expenses which he incurred in Copenhagen on those days when no one, not even Wendt, had invited him to their homes. Worse still, he withheld sums of money sanctioned by the king for the mission in Tranquebar as well as other gifts for the mission and used them for the distribution of Danish Bibles at home because he felt he had to keep the missionaries in India short of money.

A letter written to the mission provost in 1717 by mission secretary Wendt proved that mistrust of the two missionaries had taken deeper root. Gruendler informs us: 'I write in the presence of God that this caused our dear provost sorrow even until his death'. After the storms against the mission had subsided in India was a new battle to begin now in Europe?

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, that humble and true witness of his Lord, who after all those unspeakable difficulties and troubles in a gigantic work was permitted to enjoy a number of years of quiet and uninterrupted work in Tranquebar and a happy family life by the side of his Maria Dorothea in order to regain his strength, was to be harassed unmercifully. In his mind Wendt always saw a caricature which the Roman Catholics had drawn: Ziegenbalg who wanted to go to the non-Christians, kept back by his weeping wife who held him firmly by the coat while his children lay crying at his feet.

Now unfortunately Hassius appeared in Copenhagen as a very rich man. He bought himself a patent of nobility in a mysterious way and acquired a nobleman's estate in Norway. In malicious talk he dropped remarks regarding the work of the Roman Catholic mission in India. He claimed that a church with 300,000 Christians was able to get along with but few European priests and with limited funds and was still able to extend. This was grist for Wendt's mill.

Very clearly Ziegenbalg now knew the attitude of the mision board, and those in authority in Copenhagen: 'If in new places new churches and schools were always to be built with funds from Europe and if pastors and teachers were to be supported by the missionaries, then the mission work in future will be carried on in but few places. Asia must be able to help herself in external matters without help from Europe or nothing will come of it. Jesus brought divine knowledge into the world without building churches and schools.' On August 15, 1718, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg gave his answer: 'Our congregation which has been gathered from non-Christians and is still being gathered, finds itself in such circumstances that we missionaries must not only care for the souls but also for the bodies of most of our members.' Had not Wendt read in the mission reports that catechumens were cast out of their non-Christian family circles and that they thus lost all economic security? 'When mothers in our congregation give birth to children they usually do not possess enough to clothe their naked child with a white cloth and bring it for baptism. Therefore the mission has to give them a yard

of cloth so that they may wrap their child therein. When people in our congregation die they have so little that they cannot even be buried in a cloth to say nothing of a coffin.' He who takes up the old letters which were enclosed with the mission offerings again and again reads the plea to help poor Indian children and mothers for this reason; 'What ye have done unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me'. During the time when the world's riches began to flow to Europe, pietistic bigotry sought to prevent the missionaries from rendering the service of love to a people that, with the exception of a small ruling class, lived in indescribable poverty.

Ziegenbalg's reply rose to a final greatness. He did not spare Wendt. 'When I consider that matters in Copenhagen have gone so far, I can give no other reason for the two-year cessation of correspondence on your part and the withholding of mission monies than your complete mistrust in us and since there is no money in this place, one of us will be compelled in a few days to go to Madras. Everything that we report to you is not judged according to love but according to the mistrust which you have for us. Those who hitherto have been friends of our work are alienated. We ourselves are made to be discouraged in our work and are harassed.'

Were the people in Copenhagen blind to the greatness of Ziegenbalg, his work and his accomplishments which themselves were proofs of the correctness of his methods? After Ziegenbalg with great firmness and with dignified earnestness had made the mission secretary morally responsible for the crippling effects of such destructive criticism, he closed with the touching words. 'And since I know that my work often does not attain the looked-for goal, at times such great sorrow and sadness overtake me that I cannot comfort myself and I experience many sleepless nights. Much patience is required in order to labour tirelessly for souls and not be frightened away when the work seems useless.'

Forebodings of death entered his heart. We can understand that when the faithful Professor Michaelis, who in Halle took care of the correspondence of the very busy Francke, read this letter he was left breathless, that he concealed its contents from the Salzmann family and also from the great Francke. He also urged Wendt that he should show the letter to no one.

While Ziegenbalg's conscience urged him first of all to labour in Tranquebar in strengthening the young congregation and to supply the recently opened mission schools in Madras and

Cuddalore with good Christian teachers, letters from Europe demanded that he should above all things go among the non-Christians, for in Tranquebar the work was already completed and no more funds would be sanctioned for that work. A modest hall would also have been sufficient rather than a church building. Ziegenbalg made the following statement to his faithful friend Gruendler, 'The misunderstanding in Copenhagen against us missionaries will increase more and more; that will be the fruit of our difficult work.' Since his physical strength was used up and he was no longer able to cope with a new quarrel with Copenhagen he was fully determined to return to Europe. Exhaustion aggravated by his great grief over so much pious bigotry kept him in bed for one and a half months. He found it necessary to turn over the administration of the mission work completely to Gruendler. He continually grew weaker. He no longer spoke of returning to Europe. God had already chosen another land for him.

'I accept such trial with patience and have this confidence in God that in some way or other He will send help so that I shall again be able to be useful to the work. May His holy will be done in all things.' A cure which had helped him when he was a candidate in Erfurt, visibly weakened him so that he had to discontinue it on the tenth day. He knew that death was near. For the last time he assembled the members of the Tamil congregation around his bed and admonished them to remain faithful. On February 23, 1719, he rapidly weakened. Death was now very near.

In 1705 the 23-year-old Ziegenbalg had hastily and joyfully written to August Hermann Francke how wonderfully God had led him, that He was requesting him to go into a land which He would show him. Fourteen years had passed by since then. Now the 36-year-old Ziegenbalg knew that the end was near. He had spent himself prematurely in a gigantic work. He held fast to his theology. He had no intention of resigning but he was very tired. He knew that his chief work was done. He had been permitted to lay the foundation of the work and extend its scope. Those who entered the work after him would not have to complain about its narrowness. The man who in the beginning had wished to enjoy God alone, had learned to serve God in and through his fellowmen. As a gifted musician he had made his Tamil congregation a singing congregation, praising his God as he did himself. As he died he commended his wife, Maria Dorothea, who was expecting a child, his two sons and

his relatives in the homeland to the care of his God whom he trusted.

In Gruendler a co-worker had been granted him who was closer than a brother. Since they had learned to know each other, they had loved one another, and in his hands the work of the mission was well taken care of. He would also take care of his widow Maria Dorothea and the children. He ministered to Ziegenbalg when death was near. Ziegenbalg said at the last: 'The Lord Jesus says, Where I am, there shall my servant also be. May the Lord bless what I have spoken.' Gruendler replied: 'Yes, the Lord will bless eternally that which you have spoken.' Suddenly Bartholomaeus put his hands before his eyes, and said: 'It is so bright before my eyes; it is as though the sun were shining in my face.' Then, as a last request the hymn 'Jesus Christ, my sure defence' was played on the piano, and at eleven o'clock that night his soul departed.

Deep sorrow and dismay filled the entire town of Tranquebar as news of his death was noised about. The room was filled with mourners who would not leave the house. They also wanted to watch by the black coffin until it was carried into the New Jerusalem church in the morning. Europeans, Portuguese and Indians crowded the church for the funeral service without regard either for rank or caste. The power and sadness of the occasion gripped them all. Everyone wished to have a last view of the earthly remains of this beloved man before the coffin was lowered into the vault which had been dug before the altar during the night. Gruendler preached the funeral sermon in German. It required no translation into Danish, Portuguese or Tamil for everyone sensed its meaning.

The letter of the young widow Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg, dated September 30, 1719, in which she describes the last days of her husband, belongs to the most touching and richest documents of evangelical piety.

Ziegenbalg's death and that of Gruendler which soon followed, alarmed Copenhagen and Halle. When the sad news reached Halle on one morning, August Hermann Francke was deeply moved as is shown by his diary. He had regarded Ziegenbalg highly and had loved him dearly. He knew that now he would have to take special interest in the work of the mission lest the absurd policy of Copenhagen should destroy it. Tactfully but with determination he attempted to lead the misguided mission Board away from a mechanical imitation of the apostolic itinerant mission.

Once again Fredrick IV took the right step at the right time. In the summer of 1721 he suddenly removed Wendt from his office with evident signs of displeasure. He must have judged him correctly and have seen through his unfortunate policy. Counsellor of Justice von Schroeder, the former tutor of the crown prince, an outstanding, practical and prudent personality to whose goodness of heart every letter of his bears witness, took charge of the mission's correspondence. The evil influence of Wendt on the mission was broken. His dangerous mission policy was ended.

August Hermann Francke did not rest until after five difficult interim years, during which the influences of Wendt's mistaken policy were felt, three missionaries were sent in 1725 to assist the three men who had arrived in Tranquebar in 1720. These new men who had but one desire, namely, to renew Ziegenbalg's work in his spirit, inaugurated the great golden age of the Tranquebar mission. During their period non-Christians came from far and near by hundreds each year, in order to become Christians.

Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg opened wide gates for the mission work of Evangelical Christendom. That this work had to be carried on against so much disagreeable opposition in the churches and that a person had to wear himself out prematurely over it is one of the saddest chapters of church history. And yet through those dark days God's great faithfulness shone forth. The Christian Church in India has never forgotten the witness of Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg. A modest monument on the shore of Tranquebar commemorates his landing on July 9, 1706, and annually on that day the Lutheran Church of Tamilnad remembers the man from Pulsnitz. His name is also remembered in the west. In the last hundred years theological schools have published his valuable writings on south Indian Hinduism. For the entire Evangelical world mission effort, the decisive mission methods were prepared by Ziegenbalg. Beyond this, we see in Ziegenbalg, God's instrument through whom the desire for mission work and brotherly love for the younger churches in the world became alive. Since then the older and the younger churches have joined together in a worldwide Christian fellowship.

Against bitter opposition and stupidity, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg paved the way for foreign missions. He gave his life for the work. It is one of God's mysteries that He performs His great deeds through suffering witnesses.